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17 OCTOBER 1986

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

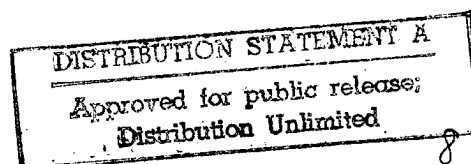
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17 OCTOBER 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## 40-NATION CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT CLOSES

OW300754 Beijing XINHUA in English 0547 GMT 30 Aug 86

[Text] Geneva, 29 August (XINHUA)--The 40-nation conference on disarmament ended its summer session today without any progress on the major topics except on a proposed chemical weapons ban.

Miljan Komatina of Yugoslavia, the conference's secretary general, said at the end of the three-month negotiations here that "no spectacular progress has been registered" on its primary topics, such as the prohibition of nuclear testing, the prevention of nuclear wars and world-wide disarmament. But, he said, the participants are close to an agreement on a chemical weapons ban and he expected it could be signed by 1987.

Reportedly, the Soviet Union, revising its previous stands, told the conference it would accept on-site inspection called for by the Western countries in the proposed chemical weapons ban to prevent any cheating.

But the United States and the Soviet Union, the two countries whose positions are vital for the conclusion of the chemical weapons ban, remain divided on the means for the inspection. They also differ on ways to guard against the conversion of civilian factories into chemical arms ones.

During the current session, the Soviet delegate Viktor Issraelyan blamed the United States for the deadlocks in the disarmament talks, accusing Washington of "inflexible stands" and demanding it "adopt a responsible attitude."

On the other hand, the U.S. chief delegate Donald Lowitz stressed that in prohibiting either chemical weapons or nuclear testing, effective inspection measures are "vital." He described the Soviet position as "unconstructive."

Many participants, including China, while welcoming certain signs of progress, expressed disappointment at the deadlocks over the major issues. They called on the United States and the Soviet Union, which possess the largest stocks of nuclear and chemical weapons, to change their attitude and show sincerity in the negotiations.

An Algerian delegate said the rivalry of the two superpowers for military superiority is the root cause of the arms race and he pointed out that the only solution to disarmament lies in the two countries' renunciation of such rivalry.

The next session of the disarmament conference will start here next February.

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## BRIEFS

USSR-U.S. RELATIONS--Moscow, 3 September (XINHUA)--Senior Soviet party official Anatoliy Dobrynin and U.S. industrialist Armand Hammer today stressed the need to expand trade, economic, scientific and cultural ties between the two countries, the official news agency TASS reported. Dobrynin, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, agreed with Hammer, chairman of the Board of the U.S. Occidental Petroleum Corporation, that the Soviet Union and the United States must improve their relations. The two men said the two countries should take measures to remove the danger of war, normalize bilateral relations and better the entire international situation. The expansion of trade, economic, scientific and cultural ties could play an "important role" in furthering Soviet-U.S. relations, they added. On Tuesday, the Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov met Hammer and the two discussed how to expand the two countries' trade and economic relations. Observers here point out that Hammer has come to Moscow just weeks before the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in New York on 19-20 September. The New York meeting is to arrange a second summit between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 2351 GMT 3 Sep 86 OW] /12913

CSO: 4000/1

PLA'S YU QILI SAYS MARX, MAO MUST GUIDE ART

HK110742 Hong Kong AFP in English 0621 GMT 11 Sep 86

[Text] Beijing, 11 September (AFP)--China's art and literature need the guidance of Marxism and Mao Zedong thought, China's top commissar said in an open rebuttal Thursday to a recent call by Chinese writers to take up the banner of humanism.

Yu Qili, director of the People's Liberation Army Political Department, told a meeting called by the Research Institute on Marxist Literary Theory that it was the leadership of Marxism and "firm faith in communism" which had made the Chinese revolution possible, the PEOPLE'S DAILY said.

"In the past we relied on this, at present we rely on this and in the future we will rely on this," Gen Yu said. "We must continue seeking truth under the flag of Marxism."

Analysts said Gen Yu's remarks were in open contradiction to a recent high-profile address by Chinese critic Liu Zaifu on the question of China's current cultural developments.

Mr Liu's speech, to 200 leading writers and critics here Sunday, was printed in full in the PEOPLE'S DAILY on Monday and appeared to reflect the current view of avid reformist leaders such as Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, the analysts said.

Mr Liu urged that literature be freed from political constraints, and said the contradiction between humanism and class struggle would remain the main issue in Chinese artistic circles for many years to come.

"Our literature today should take socialist humanism as its banner," said Mr Liu, who made not a single mention of Marxism in his entire address.

Gen Yu's remarks were summarized in a brief report which was given less prominent display, despite his position as a member of the ruling Communist Party Politburo.

That the two comments should both appear in the PEOPLE'S DAILY indicated that the leadership was continuing to debate the role that Marxism and Mao Zedong thought should play in Chinese cultural circles, the analysts said.

ZHANG XIANLIANG ON SOCIAL REFORM, LITERATURE

HK111405 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese 23 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Zhang Xianliang [1728 6343 0081]: "Social Reform and Flourishing Literature -- A letter to Wen Yuankai"]

[Text] Editor's note: At present, an overall reform is being carried out in our country. Writers have also concerned themselves with the reform. They have not only realistically depicted reform in their works, but have also pondered theoretical questions concerning the reform and literature and art. In this article, Comrade Zhang Xianliang gives his opinions in this regard. It is published here for our readers. [end editor's note]

Comrade Yuankai:

I was very glad to receive your letter and the text of your speech in Shenzhen after returning from Beijing. What makes me even gladder is that writers' opinions are not neglected by the people who are responsible for pondering questions concerning reform of the social economy and political structure.

I always hold that there are close relations between contemporary Chinese writers and those who are actually engaged in various reforms. When the reformers throughout the country experience good circumstances, writers also feel "relaxed," but when the former meet with troubles, the latter will also have troubles. This is just like the weather turning from cloudy to overcast, or blowing B-wind ["B"-feng 7364] as Wang Meng put it. This is almost a law, as it happens often. If you do not believe this, we can still wait and see. This shows that there are certain internal relationships between social reforms and the flourishing of literature. It was based on this understanding that I invited you to Xiangshan Hotel last year to meet some of my friends who are engaged in literary work--Feng Jicai, Zheng Wanlong, and Li Tuo. On that day, perhaps due to the presence of some reporters, I felt that none of us spoke out freely. It seems that things are a bit different this year. This is a period of "good times" for us. Therefore, I would like to boldly speak out about what is really on my mind.

I agree with you that in the course of history, certain traditions of the national culture have become heavy burdens. In this challenging era of reform and opening up to the outside world, analyzing, criticizing, and transforming the substructure of Chinese culture have become our

imperative tasks. The writers have also turned to this point, as if by prior agreement. In recent years we can find that there are many good pieces among the so-called "retrospective" literature, "root-seeking" literature," or even vulgar literature. Although some of their styles and contents are very "strange" and they do not attract many readers, they show the writers' courage to go counter to traditions and show that they have taken it as their duty to analyze and criticize the substructure of Chinese culture. In essence, a true writer (not necessarily a good writer) always concerns himself with society and with politics. We can believe that in the years of reform and opening up, writers will always stand in the forefront, shoulder to shoulder with all the reforms throughout our country, and take up the challenge of history with them. The book "Half of Man Is Woman," which has been called a "sex novel," is in fact a book appealing for overall reform in the political, economic, and philosophical arenas.

However, in the current lively and fruitful mass discussion on the question of social reforms in China, I have a slightly different opinion on the argument that "China's social reforms should first rely upon the reform of concepts [guannian 6034 1819]." When you made your recent speech in Shenzhen, it seemed that you also emphasized this point. You said that "the Chinese nation will not be able to advance unless there is a profound 'explosion' [baopo 3615 4275] in ideological concepts," and that we should overcome "ossified culture" by means of "tolerance, comprehension, and respect." What I worry about is that the substructure of Chinese culture, or the powerful inertia of traditional culture, is usually not so easily recognized by the people, but it has stubbornly dominated modern men's modes of thinking and forming value judgments. I always feel that there is some similarity in thought between "taking the reform of concepts as a prerequisite for China's social reform" and the past emphasis on "ideological remolding." As a tradition of the Chinese people since ancient times, the ways to transform the external world are always correcting one's own mind, having good faith, cultivating one's moral character, managing one's household well, administering one's country well, and bringing peace and order to the land. In China, the Marxist principle that man can be remolded only in the course of transforming the external world seems to exist in concept only, or is even put the other way round: Man must remold himself well before he is able to transform the external world "better" and "correctly." I discussed this in my book "Green Trees." Unfortunately, few people understand the "revelation" of the second part of the so-called "revelations of the materialists" in this book even to this day.

Both of us have been to the United States. I believe we have a common view on the following fact: The Americans always do concrete things before saying anything or say something while doing. But we Chinese are used to having discussions before doing anything, "discussing principles or ideological guidelines before dealing with concrete matters," or simply doing nothing at all even after repeated discussions. We can find more "empty talk" today even than in the Wei and Jin dynasties, and this forms a key factor in the inherited properties of the Chinese nation.

In China's longstanding feudal society, a unique, ultra-stable [chao wending 6389 4489 1353] social structure was formed. The traditional Chinese culture also became ultra-stable psychological factor and way of thinking of the Chinese nation. But all this can only be maintained and developed in a closed society. At present we are implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy. Since this is an economic policy, it has engendered changes in various sectors of our society, including the superstructure. Of these changes, the change in concepts -- the most sensitive and expressive sector -- is most obvious and extensive. All the sufferings of our nation can be summed up as follows: For some people, while their concepts have changed, they find that realities do not change simultaneously. For some other people, they find that realities have changed, but their concepts have not. As a result, there has appeared a situation of "all people are grumbling and complaining."

The suffering of the latter are sufferings of decline, but those of the former are sufferings of the times. Therefore, we cannot say that we still need to change our concepts before starting to transform society, because this can only deepen the sufferings of the times and may finally lead to an "explosion" in society. Indignation and sufferings create poets and all kinds of reformers. At present, what we need to do is to support the reformers in their efforts to reform the realities, the external world, and various structures and systems. Only in the course of reform can we change the inertia in our inner world and that of some other people which has been caused by traditional culture and mentality.

Marx said: Morality and fame form the ruling ideology of feudal society. However, the bourgeoisie did not wait until freedom and equality became a ruling ideology in society before they started to transform the world according to their will. They always act in their interests and in accordance with their will before saying anything. When capitalist economic relations were gradually established in society, the concepts of freedom and equality were also gradually popularized and became universal. Therefore, I am basically in favor of the four principal measures you have proposed for transforming the substructure of traditional Chinese culture: expanding major industrial production, accepting the establishment of a commodity economy, welcoming the high-technology era, and advocating democracy, freedom, and a legal system. But I think we can emancipate our minds a bit further and go deeper into the matter. You said: "In the past we often emphasized that China lacks capitalism and needs to make up this missed lesson or even allow the existence of capitalism, including the idea of one country, two systems. However, we still cannot talk about capitalism, because due to longstanding educational practice of the past, whenever capitalism is mentioned, it is readily linked with making people suffer for the second time. This is a conditioned reflex that many people fear, because it may cause a split among them. The theoretical workers have made a great breakthrough. What kind of socialism should China develop? It is called the socialism of the planned commodity economy. China does not lack capitalism, but a commodity economy, and the commodity economy is insurmountable."

The reason I feel that you have not given a thorough explanation of the question is that the commodity economy is only an economic form, but capitalism is a form of society. The conclusion drawn by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy is an accurate conclusion, because it places this kind of economy within the category of an economic form rather than regarding it as an insurmountable social form. As a kind of social form in the development of human society, capitalism is insurmountable. You said the theoretical workers have made a great breakthrough in this respect, but in my opinion, it is but a great concession by them. As we all know, in the history of Marxist ideology, after the deaths of Marx and Engels, only Lenin ever clearly and profoundly affirmed the important role and insurmountability of capitalism in the development of human history (see the debates between Lenin and Bukharin during 1918 and 1923). We must not surrender ourselves to the feeling and mentality of fear, which is a result of ultra-"leftist" ideology. Now it is time for us theoretical workers to make great efforts to "redress" all "slanders and libels" which have been imposed on capitalism. The "rehabilitaiton" of capitalism will enable us to better resolve our current problems in the political and economic reforms as well as in the reform of our legal system.

The fundamental reason why we have encountered so many difficulties and setbacks in building socialism is that we have not had a historical period of highly developed capitalism. Most people hold the same view on this point. Excluding the past or the future, just in our current reform we can feel that we are often obstructed by both the invisible "substructure of traditional Chinese culture" or conservative thinking resulting from long-standing Chinese cultural and mental influences, and the visible ultra-stable society -- the political structure. These visible and invisible things become a closely woven net before us, often making us feel badly battered and unable to move a single step forward.

At the same time, along with the implementation of the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, serious unhealthy tendencies have appeared within our party and numerous economic crimes have emerged in an endless stream. The mean tricks and brazenness of these cases are even rare in a capitalist country. Obviously, they do not reflect the nature of capitalism but have a marked feudalism color and flavor. What shall we do in view of this historical fact? Of course we must not take a road back to start developing capitalism and wait until capitalism is highly developed before building socialism. However, the experiences of capitalism are especially valuable for us in view of this historical fact. Lenin said: "We cannot imagine that there is a form of socialism other than the one based on all the experiences obtained by capitalist culture." As we all know, there is still not a successful model of socialism for us, but there are some ready examples of modern capitalism. Therefore, an urgent task for us at present is to reform our ultra-stable society as regards the political structure, while developing the commodity economy and promoting the social productive forces and with reference to the political, judicial, administrative, and personnel systems

of capitalist society as well as their methods of vertical economic guidance and lateral economic ties. Without reforming the political structure, it will be very difficult for us to promote the social productive forces and develop the commodity economy and to win victory in the world challenge.

To "rehabilitate" capitalism and take modern capitalist experiences and patterns as our references in transforming society in regard to the political structure of our own country is by no means an expression of our weakness in history but an expression of our revolutionary courage in theory and history!

Next, I would like to speak about my own profession, literature.

Undoubtedly, an unprecedented prosperous situation has appeared in the new period of Chinese literature since the "May 4th Movement." Of course, we owe all this to the implementation of the "double hundred" policy. Although there have been some relapses every now and then since 1978, as we have to firmly and unremittingly implement the economic policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, and the principle of reform in order to meet world challenges, the implementation of the "double hundred" policy in the ideological and cultural fields is also imperative under current circumstances. The reform of society and the development of literature have followed a winding road, but they have never stopped. To enable us to advance more smoothly and quickly, I think it is necessary for us to gain a deeper and more scientific understanding of the "double hundred" policy now. In this connection, I would like to offer my viewpoints here and hope to receive some advice.

In the past, it was generally understood that the "double hundred" policy consists of two parts: "Letting a hundred schools of thought contend" refers to the theoretical, ideological, and academic fields, while "letting a hundred flowers blossom" refers to literature and art. In my opinion, these two do not parallel each other. Their relationship is one of principal and subordinate. The key to whether "a hundred flowers" can "blossom" lies in whether "a hundred schools of thought" can "contend." The latter is a prerequisite for the former. The proposition of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" also has two meanings: 1) The maturity of a nation is chiefly reflected by its philosophical thought, or its understanding of the world. Literature and art are developed on the basis of this philosophical thought or the development of this understanding. 2) Whether "a hundred schools of thought" can "contend" freely without hesitation and whether a variety of opinions can be debated on the basis of equality are yardsticks of freedom in our society. Only with this premise can we talk about what to write, how to write, and whether the writers have problems. For this reason, I would like to focus on the question of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend."

When the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" was first advanced by the CPC, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, my understanding of it was that it includes the "school" of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Mao Zedong

once said: In the final analysis, a hundred schools can be boiled down to only two schools: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Although it was a bit too absolute to say this, it had some merit. If the "contention among a hundred schools of thought" is restricted within the bounds of contention among various academic schools and different understandings in the proletarian class, it can only become contention over trivial matters. This closed form of "contention" is of no help to the furthering of understanding and the development of science.

Therefore, in order to really implement the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," it is necessary to allow the mouthpieces of bourgeois ideology to have the right to speak openly. All men are equal before the truth, and all men are equal before the law. Any person, including the mouthpiece of bourgeois ideology, has the right to publish his writings so long as they do not advocate a national split, armed rebellion, or armed subversion. The bourgeoisie I am talking about here does not refer to the so-called "bourgeoisie" political label put on most intellectuals in those years, but to true representatives of bourgeois academic thought. We often are astonished in the face of the "class struggle in the ideological field." In fact, this is a gratifying phenomenon, because it is a symbol of democracy and a historical opportunity for us to develop Marxism and bring ourselves closer to the truth. As a Marxist and a dialectical materialist, I will feel lonely and uncomfortable if I only allow myself to speak while oppressing the other side. If we use our power to seal the mouths of the opposite side, it will be a scathing satire on Marxism. Let us leave aside this small angle and look at the problem from a larger view. In the historical stage of implementing the principle of one country, two systems, when Hong Kong returns to the embrace of the motherland and the trend of reunification between Taiwan and the mainland develops further, the "double hundred" policy will certainly have new content. We cannot imagine that proletarian Marxism can be spread in the capitalist regions, but in the socialist regions on the same territory, bourgeois academic thought and literature and art are regarded as fierce floods and savage beats and are banned and criticized, yet this kind of socialism can enjoy a good reputation in the world and can win people over. In the political and economic fields, we can establish special zones, but in the ideological and cultural fields, we should not and cannot establish special zones.

On the mainland China, the class structure has already changed. The bourgeoisie no longer exists as an independent class. But all kinds of non-Marxist, non-socialist, idealist, or even anti-Marxist ideas will continue to exist for a long time. This is a fact and a normal social phenomenon among the people. The more developed the society, the more active the people's thinking becomes. In communist society, in which personal freedom is fully developed, there will be a variety of opinions. We will not discuss the future, but just talk about current issues. If we still regard the ideas and understandings that are different from ours as unorthodox opinions, and criticize them, it will only reflect our self-centered mental state which has been deeply influenced by traditional Chinese culture

and show that we, the Marxists, still have not adapted ourselves to an open society. This mental state becomes a protective screen for old concepts, changing Marxism into a closed ideological system. The so-called development will thus be only introvertive, supplementary, and annotative. This is a mortal wound to the further development of Marxism. Moreover, at present, the way of thinking which is characterized by drawing simple conclusions is still influential among the people. "Capitalism" and "bourgeoisie" are applied to all ugly things. However, people hardly realize that even the phenomenon of "liberalism" that they have often criticized includes various types: bourgeois individual liberalism, proletarian anarchist liberalism, and liberalism of the feudal literati and officialdom. The estrangement of some people and the germination of certain new things are other trends that we have not yet recognized. Decadence and decay are not peculiar to the bourgeoisie either. They appeared during the period of slaveowners and feudal lords, before the emergence of the bourgeoisie. The decadence of the lumpen proletariat was even more harmful to society.

In short, in today's situation when history has entered a new stage and the social structure has changed, when the door of our nation has opened and, in the economic field, more and more laboring people are having direct relations with the means of production, if we still use the method of class analysis to view changing and complex concepts, attempt to level out a three-dimensional structure, and regard the dynamic spiritual world as a static one, we will fall seriously behind changing developments.

Over the past few years, since we have implemented the principle of building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics and the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, and since the "double hundred" policy and "freedom of creation" have been reiterated, Marxism has been developed in China, the ideological and theoretical circles have become more animated, and a scene of prosperity has appeared in the field of literature and art. However, to speak frankly, there is still not ample space for mental activity in the ideological and theoretical circles and in literary and art circles. Although we have repeatedly emphasized not wielding big sticks and not attaching political labels to people, those sticks and labels have yet not been thrown onto the garbage heap of history. They are still playing an invisible and threatening role in desolate corners. Only when the "double hundred" policy is thoroughly implemented and is ensured by law, and all kinds of ideas (including bourgeois ideas) can be discussed on an equal basis, can the so-called "forbidden zones" be eliminated. What is more important to the development of theory and the flourishing of literature is unlimited space for the mental activities of those who engage in these types of work. The last mental barrier among the people and among the Marxists can be thoroughly eliminated only when bourgeois ideas are no longer regarded as illegal.

We are in an era of rapid change. The reform of the political structure has now become an imperative task for us. In this reform, an important matter is to change the situation characterized by "making no distinction between party and government," so that our party can exercise its power

of leadership but is not involved in all concrete affairs of various social sectors. Thus, in the ideological field, we must also learn to make a distinction between the requirements for ordinary people and those for party members. It is always an arduous task for communists throughout the historical period of socialism to make their world outlook a ruling ideology of the society in a situation where ordinary people enjoy unlimited freedom in ideological belief. This task can be accomplished only in a society with sufficient freedom in the ideological realm. We need not worry about the spreading of "bourgeois ideas." The opposite of the "spreading of bourgeois ideas" will be unprecedented development of scientific Marxism and unprecedented flourishing of literature and art. The goals we long for will surely be achieved one after another.

I have received your invitation to the second forum on the "new technological resolution and structural reform," which will be held in Hangzhou, and the namelist of the participants. I believe this will be a very significant forum. Personally, I am very interested in this discussion, but, unfortunately, I will be busy in mid-August and cannot attend. However, please use this letter as the text of my speech at the forum, so as to express my support for the forum and to ask for advice from the participants.

31 July 1986

/12624

CSO: 4005/3

REFORM, DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATION

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 27 May 86 p 3

[Article by Lu Yongxiang [6424 3941 4382] of Zhejiang University: "On the Reform and Development of China's Higher Education"]

[Text] Since the PRC's founding 36 years ago, China's higher education undertaking has indeed made paramount achievements. However, it hasn't yet been able to meet the demands of the four modernizations for a variety of specialists, nor can it adapt to the current situation of rapidly developing science and technology in the world. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Education should be oriented towards modernization, the world, and the future." This is the guiding principle of the reform and development of China's higher education undertaking. Only through vigorous reform can China's higher education undertaking possibly achieve faster development and improvement.

1. Readjust Tier Structure and Train Specialists in Accordance with Proportion

China's higher education system has been unitary for many years and undergraduate students account for the overwhelming majority. In recent years, China has strengthened the training of graduate students and begun to pay attention to developing the vocational schools of higher learning. However, the number of graduates is so limited that it cannot meet the tier demand of industrial departments for high- and mid-level technical personnel. Almost over 20 percent of regular college graduates are placed every year in positions for which they are overqualified. The situation is worse especially in certain key enterprises. According to the average standard of current China, it takes 4 to 5 years and nearly 10,000 yuan of investment to train an undergraduate while it takes only 2 to 3 years and less than 2,000 yuan to train a vocational student. China's current financial and economic situations are not very good and there is an urgent demand for specialists. In spite of all this, China has tolerated the existence of this abnormal phenomenon for a long time. Moreover, in 1978 a large number of higher and secondary vocational schools were "put on a cap" and upgraded, worsening the imbalance of tier proportions. In this reform, efforts must be made to strengthen leadership, make overall planning, and through, readjustment and development, completely change the situation of disproportion of China's higher education.

At the same time, the disciplinary structure of universities should be readjusted too. At present, the most prominent contradiction is the shortage in the disciplines of politics, law, finance, trade, and management which are much too far from meeting the demands for strengthening the building of the legal system, opening up to the world, and invigorating the domestic economy. Some disciplines are outdated and need to be updated; some disciplines only cover a limited range of subjects; and a group of rising disciplines are yet to be developed. In sum, the disciplinary structure of schools should also meet the actual requirements of the national economy and adapt to the reality of scientific and technological development.

## 2. Reform Teaching Methods and Emphasize the Development of Aptitude

The word "exam" has effectively reversed the situation of confusion on the educational front caused by the 10-year turmoil and played a positive role in the process of "bringing order out of chaos." However, at present we cannot but notice that from elementary school to obtaining a doctorate Chinese youngsters have to pass five entrance exams and six graduation exams. It is like "passing five barriers and killing six generals." Teaching is controlled by exams and students are overloaded and suffocating from too much pressure, thus seriously affecting the all-around development of youngsters. Teaching methods are mainly classroom lectures which is hard for students to develop their initiative and the links of practical teaching and aptitude development are fairly weak. This phenomenon must be quickly changed. Along with the rapid development of science, technology, and the productive forces of society, the idea of modern education has changed from the traditional way of passing on knowledge to emphasizing students' aptitude development. Especially in higher education, students should not only have a good grip of basic theories of science and technology during their schooling but also foster their self-study ability, working ability and creativity so as to lay a solid foundation for their future development. We should, in view of this target, reduce students' burden, reform teaching and examination methods, strengthen the link of practice, and emphasize the development of students' aptitude while intensifying the teaching of basic theories.

## 3. Consolidate and Expand a Number of Small-scale Schools

Currently, China's institutions of higher education are mostly controlled by government departments or local governments. The scale of schools is restricted by such conditions as the demand of supervising departments for talented persons and the possible supply of funds. It is reported that according to the statistics compiled by 1983, the average number of students enrolled in the nation's over 600 institutions of higher learning is 1,200, amounting to only about a fifth of the average level of universities abroad. In many newly built schools, the number is less than 500. Due to the excessively small scale of schools, teachers, equipment, investment are scattered, the number of administrative and managerial personnel is increased in proportion and the investment returns of education are very poor. The small scale of the schools and the unitary type of disciplines are not in line with the characteristics of the inter-disciplinary, comprehensive development of modern science and technology and very unfavorable to the improvement of educational quality. In order to change this situation, we must resolutely

break through barriers between departments and establish trans-regional and inter-departmental cooperation in running schools. As the first step, all supervising departments should permit schools under their administration to vigorously accept the request of other departments and regions for training students and jointly managing a course of special discipline, a department, a graduate school or even a subdivision of a college on the condition that they first fulfill state-assigned plans and tasks. In cities or prefectures where conditions permit, we can use the method of cooperation and integration between different schools to expand the scale of school management, raise the standard of school management, and increase returns on the investment of education.

#### 4. Reform the Leadership System That Separates Science and Technology From Education and Develop Educational, Scientific and Technological Centers

Institutions of higher education, especially key institutions, are places where a group of higher-level experts and professors are concentrated. They also have a wider variety of disciplines. In addition, they often have better information data, libraries, and laboratories. Moreover, college students, especially graduate students, are also a mobile echelon of most vigorous and innovative scientific and technological forces. Transforming institutions of higher education into educational, scientific, and technological centers not only can bring into full play the role of the precious intellectual ranks of college professors and students but also is required for improving the quality of teachers and teaching and fostering students' scientific research ability and creativity. Schools' scientific research achievements or modernized scientific and technological knowhow can be transferred to society through normal academic exchanges and transfers of achievements. What is more, they can be carried to industrial departments through a more important way--the uninterrupted flow of annual graduates. This kind of intellectual circulation is exactly the most important intellectual flow in modern society. However, in the past 36 years since the PRC's founding, the leadership system of science and technology and that of education are basically separated from each other. The State Educational Commission, the Chinese Academy of Science and Technology, various departments and committees, provinces, and municipalities each lead an independent scientific research rank. This has resulted in competition for investment, subjects of research, and equipment, the separation of education from scientific research, and the dispersion of human and material resources. It has caused institutions of higher education to suffer from a shortage of funds and faculties, poor equipment, and difficulties in competing for key subjects of research. It has also caused specialized research institutes to be overstaffed and have difficulties in personnel circulation. It is a shame that the scientific research rank has aged and not taken on any educational tasks (except for a few institutes which train some graduate students), thus confining precious scientific and technological information and intellectual resources to institutes. If in the course of this reform we can encourage institutions of higher education to cooperate or integrate with concerned scientific research institutes in accordance with disciplinary and regional divisions to form regional, specialized educational, scientific, and technological centers, not only can we coordinate scattered scientific research forces in a much more effective manner, avoid many low-level repetitions, save scientific research investment,

and increase scientific research results, we also can make sizable progress in the quality and quantity of our higher education. Some countries have long combined the management of education and scientific research and exercised the leadership of unified planning. We should be enlightened by it.

12302

CSO: 4005/863

SUCCESS REPORTED IN ACADEMIC DEGREE SYSTEM

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 31 May 86 p 1

[Article by Zhou Ling [0719 3781]: "China's Academic Degree System Scores Achievements"]

[Text] According to the Academic Degree Commission of the State Council, China has scored outstanding achievements in conferring academic degrees since the implementation of rules and regulations on academic degrees on 1 January 1981. During the "Sixth 5-year Plan" period, China's over 520 institutions of higher education conferred bachelor's degrees to 1.02 million graduates, master's degrees to 38,009 graduates, and doctor's degrees to 350 graduates. China now has domestic-trained doctors and masters in such fields as liberal arts, science, engineering, agriculture, and medicine.

Officials concerned of the Academic Degree Commission of the State Council said: The implementation of China's academic degree system has given a great impetus to the development of China's educational and scientific undertakings and the growth of high-level specialists. As a result of 5-year efforts, of the 638 disciplines and special studies of China's institutions of higher education and scientific research organs that offer doctor's and master's degrees, 618 have enrolled 105,800 master's candidates and 316 have enrolled 5,100 doctoral candidates. Enrolling and training on our own a large number of graduate students studying for master's and doctor's degrees indicates that China's academic degree work and graduate education has entered a new stage of independent and steady development.

After examination and verification conducted by scholars and experts in 1981 and 1983, a group of units, disciplines, and special studies offering doctor's and master's degrees and a group of faculty advisers for doctoral candidates have been approved. According to statistics, in China today, 525 institutions of higher education are authorized to give bachelor's degrees; 425 units are authorized to give master's degrees, of which, 320 are institutions of higher education and 105 are scientific research organs; 4,254 disciplines and special studies have master's degrees, of which, 3,587 are offered by institutions of higher education and 667 by scientific research organs; 196 units are authorized to give doctor's degrees, of which, 155 are institutions of higher education and 41 are scientific research organs; 1,151 disciplines and special studies have doctor's degrees, of which, 886 are offered by

institutions of higher education and 265 by scientific research organs; and there are a total of 1,788 faculty advisers for doctoral candidates. This indicates that China has formed an initial base for the development of graduate students that has a basically complete selection of disciplines and courses, a relatively strong advisory force, and a fairly solid scientific and technological foundation. It shows that we are capable of gradually achieving the objective of training high-level specialists mainly at home.

In the past few years in order to strengthen academic exchanges between China and other countries, China has, with the approval of the Academic Commission of the State Council, conferred 9 honorary doctor's degrees to outstanding foreign scholars, scientists, noted politicians, and social activists, causing very good reactions at home and abroad.

12302

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIAOWANG URGES CADRES TO WORK 'CREATIVELY'

HK030457 Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 33, 18 Aug 86 p 4

[Commentator's article: "Creatively Carry Out Central Policies and Directives"]

[Excerpts] Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined. This is an important experience of our party over the past decades.

Building socialism with Chinese characteristics is an arduous but great task for which we have no ready experience to follow. To fulfill this task, the important topic confronting our cadres at all levels, in particular, leading cadres, is to learn to combine the central policies and directives with their specific localities or departments and to do their work creatively. In other words, leading bodies at various levels should master the skills needed for creatively implementing the central policies and directives.

Leading bodies at all levels are urged to do their work creatively because, first, China is a big country with a vast territory. Conditions vary from place to place. The central policies and directives are worked out in the light of the general situation of the country. It is impossible to make specific and detailed stipulations on all problems cropping up in various localities. Therefore, when comrades in various localities implement central policies and directives, they are encouraged to employ their initiative and enthusiasm and act in accordance with their own actual conditions.

Integrating theory with reality is one of our party's fine traditional work styles. The victory of China's revolution is the result of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities in China. Now we are building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In view of this new situation, we should apply the fundamental tenets of Marxism in studying new development and solving new problems. Society is developing and the times are advancing. New things are emerging one after another. Marxism should be developed with the development of practice. We must persist in solving the new problems arising in China's reform and construction using the fundamental tenets of Marxism as the guide and have the courage to cast away specific constructions that have been proved to be outdated or not completely correct by practice, and to replace them with new constructions commensurate with objective reality. All revolutionaries loyal to Marxism have the duty to enrich Marxism with fresh revolutionary experience so that it can preserve its vigorous vitality, and to advance

our cause and Marxist theory continuously. Therefore, our cadres, in particular leading cadres, should study Marxism and new knowledge in all fields diligently, and enhance their awareness on doing their work in a principled, farsighted, and creative way.

Some of our cadres are not good at conducting investigation and study and have a blurred picture of, or scanty knowledge of some important problems in their own localities and they fail to study them assiduously and thoroughly. This being so, they are also not good at effectively solving their problems in the light of their actual conditions by using the central policies and directives. Some cadres, no matter what they do, always sit back and wait for the "red-letterheaded documents" issued by the higher authorities. Without such documents they become powerless to do anything and with them, they copy them word by word and indiscriminately transmit them to the lower levels. This is the basic reason for their failure to carry out their work in a striking and vigorous way.

/12232

CSO: 4005/020

NEW IDEAS STRESSED IN STOPPING UNHEALTHY TRENDS

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 86 p 1

[Commentary: "Correct Unhealthy Tendencies with New Ideas"]

[Text] Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, party rectification is making progress day by day. It is now increasingly clear that as long as we adhere to the correct decision of the central government and insist on using new ideas and the correct line, principles and policies to correct unhealthy tendencies, we certainly will fulfill the task of achieving a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle and social practices.

The experience we gained in party rectification tells us that we must use new, not old, ideas to correct unhealthy tendencies, because unhealthy tendencies can be comprehended from two different points of views. For instance, some people think that cadres involved in business and enterprises is brought about by the influence of capitalist ideas whereas others think it is not so. Instead, they think it is a special phenomenon born under the condition of insufficient development of the commodity economy. Essentially, it is related to the influence of feudal ideas and the incomplete reform of the old economic system. Due to the influence of feudal ideas and the irrationality of the system, cadres can use special favorable conditions such as the confusion of administrative and economic responsibilities and power to do business. Because of this, the only conclusion is to further develop the commodity economy, promote economic reform, and create an environment for fair competition so cadres will be unable to use their privileges to make profits from business transactions. Therefore, we should say the second point of view is correct.

Also some people think the currently existing network of personal connections is caused by putting money before everything else and is capitalist stuff. Actually, in a developed commodity economy, capitalists refuse to have anything to do with any of their relatives and friends. They only hire those who are competent and capable of increasing profits for the enterprise. They would not even let their children take over the enterprise if they are good for nothing. We should realize that the network of personal connections is also a practice left over from feudal society. Under the circumstance in which everyone eats from the communal pot and relies on an iron rice bowl, leaders do not take responsibility for the success or failure of enterprises. This is where the network of personnel connections comes in. Because of this, the only conclusion for breaking the network of personal connections is to further carry out reform. Using new ideas to correct unhealthy tendencies is bound to

enhance the determination and confidence in reform. If we use old ideas to oppose unhealthy tendencies or even use the idea of "honorable and noble country" to deal with unhealthy tendencies, we can only get back to the old path of self-sufficiency and egalitarianism. Then, not only will it fail to overcome unhealthy tendencies but it will become a historical retrogression.

Unless we use new ideas, we will not reach a realistic conclusion in the observation and analysis of the current situation of the party's workstyle. Some people say the party's workstyle was the best in the 1950's. Here is my question: During the period of the "Great Leap Forward," iron pots were melted to make scrap iron and kitchen ranges were dug out to build canteens. You knew very well that it was not right but you dared not utter a word "no" because saying one word wrong or even making a suggestion to a secretary of a party branch might bring you a label of "rightist" or "counterrevolutionary." What is so good about this? Today, our party's line has already gone back to the correct track of Marxism and Leninism and fine traditions and workstyles such as seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and self-criticism have been restored and developed. The generalization that the party's workstyle was better in the past is obviously one-sided.

Carrying out reform in a country of 1 billion people and very uneven cultural and economic development like ours is an extremely large and arduous social engineering project. During the transition between old and new systems, it is impossible to avoid some "vacuum" areas and "loopholes" in regard to management which give the room for some people engaging in unhealthy tendencies to sneak in. "weakness lends wings to rumors" can be used as a link between reform and the open policy and unhealthy tendencies, but unhealthy tendencies are not an inevitable outcome of reform and the open policy. The reform and the open policy can broaden people's horizons, liberate their thinking and substantially accelerate the building of ideological civilization while accelerating the building of material civilization. Invigorating the domestic economy, opening up to the world, and developing the commodity economy has broken many "unbreakable walls in concepts" and liberated social productive forces to an unprecedented degree. In the mighty torrent of reform, it is unavoidable that feudal, semi-colonial, small-scale production, and other historical sediments will rise along with the tide and it is also possible that some capitalist stuff will sneak in. Under this contradictory situation, if we only observe from the viewpoint of traditional relations of morals and ethics, we will be easily trapped with or without our knowledge in the swamp of idealism. Only by striving to create conditions, replacing the old system with a new socialist economic system, and fully developing the commodity economy and social productive forces while strengthening law and discipline can we gradually clear up the climate and soil that produced unhealthy tendencies. Adhering to the basic principle of Marxism that social ideology is determined by social existence, we should coordinate the efforts to correct the party's workstyle and strengthen the building of ideological civilization with reform, the open-door policy, and the development of a socialist commodity economy so that they can develop simultaneously and promote each other.

12302

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CADRE EDUCATION IN PROFESSIONAL ETHICS STRESSED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 6, 1 Jun 86 pp 24-25

[Article by Yan Zhenwu [7051 2182 2976]: "Attention Must Be Paid to Cadres' Professional Ethics Education"]

[Text] The establishment of the socialist system has created very favorable conditions for the development of professional ethics. However, for a very long period of time, the emphasis of our propaganda and education work has been placed more on social morality than on professional ethics. This may have contributed directly to the fact that there are now people in the party and society, particularly among leading cadres, who take advantage of their profession or power to pursue personal ends.

Professional ethics is permeated with, embodies and gives expression to communist moral values. There are generally three aspects to a person's life in society--his profession, family and social activities. Correspondingly, social morality is divided into professional ethics, marital and family ethics and public-spiritedness. Under the socialist system, professional ethics is permeated with communist moral values. Divorced from professional ethics, the "carrier," communist moral values become abstract "things in the air." The 12th CPC National Congress called for efforts "to do more to educate people of all trades and lines of work in professional responsibility, ethics and discipline," which clearly made professional ethics an important part of communist education.

The writer thinks that professional ethics education should be the main part of communist moral education because professional activities are the major activities of people in general. According to statistics, other than sleeping, a person spends one-half of his time at the work place. The contributions people make to society and the formation of their communist moral character are inseparable with their professions. Professional activities are even more important to society. The development of an advanced material and spiritual civilization depends on professional activities, which are the basic and universal form of development for people in all walks of life and the basic way to realize our social goals and ideals. Thus it is obvious that professional activities occupy a major place in the multi-faceted social life of people, and that they reflect the moral requirements and moral outlook of society more directly and sharply than do family and community activities.

Similarly, professional ethics, which guide and restrain people's professional activities, also occupies a major place in society's moral system. It has a greater impact on people's social life than marital, family and social ethics. To be sure, the social role of professional ethics also has its limitations. For example, it is limited by the people in professions and the time during which professional activities take place. Nonetheless, as a moral concept, it inevitably affects others and infiltrates the broad sphere of social life as a whole. Therefore, we must pay serious attention to professional ethics education. It is of great immediate as well as long-range significance for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social conduct, achieving the great goals of socialist modernization and training generation after generation of new socialist workers.

In the past, in professional ethics education, we often fixed our attention on ordinary workers in the service trades and overlooked party and government cadres. Of course, it is necessary to pay attention to professional ethics education for the service trades because they directly serve people's needs in daily life, and it should be noted that what we are now doing is still not enough. However, there is no basis for the bias that party and government cadres and people in other trades do not seem to need education in professional ethics. Professions are the results of the division of labor in society, and appropriate professional ethics is bound to be formed to regulate the relations among people in the same profession and their relations with society at large. Therefore, every trade, whatever it may be, has its own specific professional ethics and educational tasks. Because the impact of professional ethics on people's relations is widespread, affecting every part of society, it is necessary to conduct professional ethics education for all trades and lines of work and strive for overall results. We should not limit education to some trades and workers and lose sight of the others. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that it may be necessary sometimes to pay greater attention to some trades and workers than others.

At present, professional ethics education should focus on cadres, particularly leading cadres at all levels. Cadres' professional ethics has a twofold meaning. On the one hand, as leaders, managers and staff members of specific departments and trades, cadres should play an exemplary role. They make and implement policies, laws, decrees, rules and regulations, and they guide and organize the masses in various social activities. If they abide by professional ethics in an exemplary manner, they will be able to guide and restrain others. If they fail to set a good example, it is likely that they will lead their subordinates and the staff and workers in their departments astray ideologically and in action with bad consequences. On the other hand, cadres, especially leading cadres, are in a position of authority and as representatives, which is a distinction others do not have. If they lack a sense of professional ethics, they can easily misinterpret party and government policies, laws and decrees, infringe on the people's legitimate rights and interests and undermine the relationship between the party and government and the people. It is obvious that the education of cadres in professional ethics will have an even greater impact on the moral outlook of society. This is particularly true at the present, as corruption among cadres has

become all too common. As the 5-year time limit for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social conduct is drawing near, whether cadres can use their own high moral standards to inspire the various trades and professions to raise the level of their professional ethics has become the decisive factor in the development of professional ethics in society as a whole.

Some comrades think that education of party members and cadres in party spirit, discipline and work style can substitute for education in professional ethics. Their understanding is incomplete. In our society, every party-member cadre has a multiple identity and multiple duties and responsibilities. He must perform his duties as a party member, meet his obligations as a citizen and fulfill his professional and ethical responsibilities as a cadre. Education in party spirit, discipline and work style alone is not enough to make people fulfill all of their duties and responsibilities. For example, to help party cadres understand, observe and act according to law, it is necessary to give them an education on the legal system. Of course, a person with a strong party spirit and consciousness will conscientiously abide by professional ethics, but a strong party spirit and consciousness can only be developed through moral education and training in professional activities. It is clear that education in party spirit, discipline and work style cannot substitute for education in professional ethics.

Other comrades think that since cadres are in leading positions in the division of labor in society, especially party-member cadres who belong to the ranks of advanced elements, the moral character expected of them should be no less than the willingness to serve the people wholeheartedly. If they are required to meet some professional ethical standards, they question, wouldn't that be a lowering of standards for party-member cadres? On this question, we must understand first of all that socialist professional ethics is guided by communist morality, and the essence of communist morality is to serve the people wholeheartedly. Thus, professional ethics is the concrete embodiment of the principle of serving the people wholeheartedly in the work place. Moreover, just take a look at the behavior of some cadres who neglect their duties in order to play it safe and use their positions to seek personal gain, and it becomes clear that it is not only absolutely necessary but very practical to have them meet certain professional ethical standards. And this is in keeping with the party's purpose.

Moral faith is the powerful driving force that makes a person perform moral deeds, and moral practice depends basically on people's inner belief. Hence, to strengthen cadre education in professional ethics, efforts should be made to cultivate people's inner faith. And this requires proper handling of the following relationships.

The relationship between ideological and educational means and economic and administrative means. In professional ethics education, attention should be paid to correcting the tendency to punish and restrict rather than educate, and to cultivating people's sense of justice, honesty and responsibility and devotion to their work mainly by ideological and educational means, supplemented by necessary economic and administrative measures.

The relationship between the highest and the lowest requirements. The highest requirement is to serve the people wholeheartedly; the intermediate requirement is to protect and develop the people's interests; and the lowest requirement is not to infringe on the people's interests. In educating cadres in professional ethics, we should proceed from realities, aim at achieving the highest requirement, make sure that the lowest requirement is met by all, and continue to move forward toward achieving the highest level of professional ethics.

The relationship between teaching by positive examples and admonition by negative examples. The use of good examples personifying standards by professional ethics is an effective way to influence and educate people. At the same time, negative examples, analyzed and denounced, can help people see clearly the contemptibleness of those who violate professional ethics, arouse their hatred of immoral behavior and serve as a warning against committing the same mistakes.

The relationship between professional ethics education and knowledge and skills education. The process of achieving a high level of professional ethics is also one of applying and improving professional knowledge and skills, and professional knowledge and skills are the fundamental guarantee for the practice of professional ethics. Therefore, it is necessary to combine professional ethics education with knowledge and skills education. Otherwise, we are going to see honest but ignorant leaders causing great losses to the state, or judges who know the law by heart but play favoritism and violate the law.

12802/12947  
CSO: 4005/910

WEN HUI BAO REASSESES ZHOU YANG'S WORKS

OW281301 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Gu Xiang: "Voice of the Contemporary Intellectuals--My Reading of Zhou Yang's Recent Works"]

[Excerpts] In rereading Comrade Zhou Yang's article and in reviewing the vicissitudes of the literature and art circles over the past decade, one cannot help but be filled with all sorts of feelings.

In reading Zhou Yang's recent works, we hear the roaring of the tumultuous tide of the time and feel the pulse of the age. His recent works not only bare the historical portrait of Comrade Zhou Yang's person, but condense and radiate the wisdom of the age. Intellectuals, as the most educated part of the working class, have undergone untold sufferings in the national scourge. At the advent of the new historical period, they have been the first to perceive the demands and aspirations of the class, the state, the age, and the people. We can aptly say that the entire recent works of Zhou Yang's Recent Works," a collection of the thoughts of contemporary intellectuals, came off the press not long ago. As a precursor to the new awakening of the contemporary intellectuals, "Zhou Yang's Recent Works" testifies to the fact that Zhou Yang is standing at the forefront of the trend of the time in the new period.

An Important Historical Mission Is to Criticize Modern Feudalism at an Earlier Time

In his reflections on history, Zhou Yang, a man of the new period, is more aware of the truth of Marxism. He has as his foundation for reflections 10 years of bitter feelings from the national scourge, a restudy of Marxism (he reread "Das Kapital" and other writings while he was in prison), as well as nutrients absorbed from the masses. In the first several years of those nightmarish times in the past, Comrade Zhou Yang was in contact with a large number of literature and art workers. Sharing their deprivations and hardships, Zhou Yang was drawn closer to them. He genuinely felt the pulsing of the souls of the writers and artists. He was melded together with the rank and file intellectuals. He was immersed in painful thoughts and in sincere contemplation of history. At the end, he was able to blaze a solid path from the sublation of history. [Li shi yang qi 2980 0670 2254 2757]. Indeed, not everyone can or is willing to make such self-conscious sublation. [Zi jue yang qi 5261 6030 2254 2757]. The worn-out notion of "treating class struggle as the key link"

has not completely disappeared since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; it has become an irradicable sediment in the minds of some people.

It is laudable that Zhou Yang has steadfastly proceeded along his chosen path and upheld the truth with which he has identified over the past decade. Undeniably, the literature and art workers have enjoyed a comparatively freer environment and ease of mind in the past decade. It is also undeniable that there were discordances and disharmonies. In those less than cloudless days, Zhou Yang was subject to an unparalleled mental burden, perhaps greater than anyone in literature and art circles. Nevertheless, he has shown adamant tenacity in his pursuit of truth and has felt no remorse unto death. If you doubt this, you are advised to peruse his works written since 1983 which are contained in "Zhou Yang's Recent Works." It is perhaps for this reason that he is held in such high esteem. If Zhou Yang were one who often went back on his word and confused right and wrong, it would be very hard for him to win people's praise.

At present, a profound and extensive social change is occurring among the courageous Chinese people. Historically, every major social change is often preceded by a corresponding movement to emancipate the mind and to wipe out the murky situation.

The movement to emancipate the mind which arose in the late 1970s is precisely the one which prepared the necessary ideological conditions for the current major social change and for the new revolution. And Zhou Yang aptly acts as the dauntless theoretician and fighter in this great movement to emancipate the mind. His report "The Third Great Thought Emancipation Movement," which was published in the spring of 1979, was so timely and mentally stimulating that its value and significance should not be underestimated. Zhou Yang traced the origin of this thought emancipation movement to the mass movement in front of Tiananmen Square on Tomb Sweeping Day in 1976, which is completely correct. The world-shocking "Tiananmen Square Incident," without a doubt, stood equal to any revolutionary mass movement in modern history. Millions of people in Beijing and in the whole country took to the streets declaring war against the despotic rule of the "gang of four." People finally found an outlet through which to vent their pent-up anger. The death knell sounded. The collapse and bankruptcy of the "gang of four" and the "Great Cultural Revolution" was decidedly unavoidable. A new era dawned. The "Tiananmen Square Incident" sent a shock wave through people's minds. The dam that diked people's minds was broken. An unrestrainable stream of thought emancipation was formed in 1987. Zhou Yang conscientiously applied the Marxist method of historical analysis to compare this thought emancipation movement with the "May Fourth Movement" and the Yanan Rectification Movement. He embarked on a systematic and objective observation and proved convincingly that it was the third great thought emancipation movement in the modern history of Chinese revolution. He not only highly evaluated the significance and historical standing of this thought emancipation movement but also gave an illuminating glimpse into its contents and substance.

Now, we have a clearer view of the third thought emancipation movement which was actually the extension and development of the "May Fourth Movement." This

is because we are not only still struggling to achieve the tasks of scientific development and democracy as set forth in the "May Fourth Movement." It is also because we carry forward, deepen and expand the spirit of criticism on feudalism and traditional culture---the "May Fourth Movement" being the starting point of the spirit of criticism. We used to view the third mind emancipation movement as a movement which delivered us from the shackles of personality cult and dogmatism. Now we know that we did not delve into the heart of the matter then. As for the "Great Cultural Revolution," we once viewed it as merely the destruction of traditional culture, a revolution that "overkilled the life of culture." Now we know that then we only saw one side of the affair. As a matter of fact, there was another side of it which had a far-reaching influence. With the deepening of the campaign to totally negate the "Cultural Revolution" and the thought emancipation movement, the whole ideology of feudalism, namely, feudalistic paternalism, authoritarianism, bigoted isolationism, obscurantism in destroying culture and education, personality cult, patriarchal thought, hierarchical ideas, human rights violations, and antihumanitarianism, were all glaringly and startlingly to be found in that "Great Cultural Revolution." People can easily detect the destruction that the Lin Liao-Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group did to the cream of traditional culture. Harder to detect was the restorationist, feudalist ideology camouflaged by Marxism and communism under the cover of class struggle and revolution. People came to realize that the traditional idea of feudalism not only appeared in the things that the "gang of four" and company tried to promote, but its strong implantment can be found in the deep recesses of ordinary men's minds. Only through this can we explain why the "Great Cultural Revolution" farce played in China for 10 years. The third thought emancipation movement was, as a matter of fact, a new Marxist enlightenment movement opposing modern feudalism. It aimed to deliver us from the cultural pattern of modern feudalism bondage as well as from the ideology of extreme capitalistic individualism which appears under the present situation of opening to the outside world. In his report, "The Third Great Thought Emancipation Movement," Zhou Yang refuted, item by item, the feudalistic ideas that the "gang of four" promoted. He pointed out: We should make a complete sweep of the pernicious influence of modern superstitions spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It is noteworthy that a year before the publication of his report, Zhou Yang delivered an official speech at a meeting in which he clearly pointed out that "the criticism of feudalist ideology and its manifestations, as represented by Confucius, is one of the important tasks on the current ideological front." We must admit that, after entering the new period, Zhou Yang was one of the earlier thinkers to acquire that kind of consciousness.

Provide Clear-cut Support for "Scar Literature," Reject the Unscientific Concept that "Literature and Art Should Be Subordinate to Politics"

The period after October 1976 was a period of self-examination--a period of "introspection" [fansi 0646 1835] among literary circles--during which the whole party and the whole nation recalled and examined what had happened in the country. The Fourth Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers in November 1979 was a major meeting to examine developments within literary and art circles. Zhou Yang's report "Carry Forward the Cause Pioneered by Our Predecessors, and Bring About More Thriving Literary and Art Creation During the New Socialist Period" provided a comprehensive review of experiences and set forth

what had to be done. He said: "Literature and art constitute a very important and complex ideological sphere; it is not easy to sum up the experiences gained in that sphere over the past 30 years." He tried to do that, however. The report he made was an enlightened, unequivocal, and impassioned one which distinguished right from wrong. When we read that report today, it seems that it was not thorough enough in denouncing the negative side of some political movements launched among literary and art circles after the founding of the republic. That is because truth takes time to emerge; and as problems become more pronounced, people also become more aware of their true nature. Furthermore, Zhou Yang could have found it difficult to present a more clear-cut conclusion in his report before the party Central Committee determined the nature of those problems.

In my opinion, the report Zhou Yang made at the congress was based totally on the discussion of the relationship between literature and art on one hand and the people on the other, and proceeding from this Marxist viewpoint he tried to evaluate historical development, provide answers to actual issues, and look forward to the future. His clear-cut endorsement of "scar literature" was an example. What was known as "scar literature" was the first wave of literary works that appeared in the new period. As a whole, it was a type of literature describing the awakening of the people after they discovered they had been hoodwinked. Those literary works reflected the masses' love, hatred, anger, anguish, outcry, and protest. Those were literary works of literary workers who took the lead in discrediting the literature of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and in righting the wrongs among literary circles. It was an inevitable historical development. How could the people not warmly embrace and fully endorse such literary works which were of enormous social and historical value? Zhou Yang said: "These works emerging from the mass of people vividly reflect their actual life; they are imbued with the spirit of the time." Of course, there were various types of works that could be generally called "scar literature." There were indeed certain naturalist descriptions of scars, and works that spread pessimism, dejection, and nihilistic thoughts and feelings. Zhou Yang unequivocally expressed his "disfavor" with those works, which constituted only a small part and were therefore not the mainstay of "scar literature." Some of our comrades have made it a practice to cite the most poorly written works in an effort to disparage and find fault with "scar literature" as a whole. The way these people's deal with literary problems is extremely erroneous.

In his report, Comrade Zhou Yang interpreted the relationship between literature and art on one hand and politics on the other as "basically a relationship between literature and art and the people." That was a big step forward in the theoretical discussion of the relationship between literature and art and politics. This interpretation broke with the narrowminded concept that politics means "class struggle," thus also breaking away from the Philistine sociological trend of regarding literature and art as "tools of class struggle." A major readjustment of the party's literary and art policy after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was the rejection of the unscientific concept that "literature and art should be subordinate to politics" and the replacement of the slogan "literature and art should serve politics" with

that of "literature and art should serve the people and socialism." It was an inevitable development in the field of literature and art after the party shifted the focus of its work. Accompanying the change in the party's general slogan was a big debate carried out among theoretical circles on the relationship between literature and art and politics. The change in the general slogan was a theoretical breakthrough. Although Comrade Zhou Yang did not clearly declare in his report that the slogans "literature and art are subordinate to politics" and "literature and art should serve politics" should no longer be used in the future, the guiding thought and spirit were already very clear. (After the mass gathering, an announcement to this effect was later made in the report "The Current Situation and Tasks" Comrade Deng Xioping made on behalf of the party Central Committee; the announcement was therefore more solemn and more appropriate than it would have been if made by a leader of a mass movement.) In reality Zhou Yang had already corrected the idea that literature and art should "be subordinate to" or "serve" politics, and he clearly denounced the idea that literature and art were "tools of class struggle." His report is still available for verification.

#### Sum Up Experience in Following the "Leftist" Ideological and Political Line from a Philosophical Point of View by Tracing the Source of the Theory of Knowledge

Delivering his special report "The Study of Several Theoretical Issues of Marxism" at a 1983 academic symposium to mark the centennial of the death of Marx, Zhou Yang, from an ideological point of view, comprehensively and systematically exposed and criticized the "leftist" ideological and political line that we had adhered to for more than 3 decades. The report, made public after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, was also a piece of creative Marxist work providing a theoretical basis for reforming the various undertakings that had mushroomed in urban and rural areas. Representing the peak of Zhou Yang's theoretical contributions during the new decade, it probably was also one of the most important theoretical and academic articles in the ideological and theoretical debate of that period. The "alienation" issue discussed in that article was a global academic issue, and it was the author's hope that his viewpoints would be criticized fairly in a spirit of good will; and even if the author's opinions in that article might not have sufficiently matured, this should not affect its value as a whole.

As I see it, the article's significance lies primarily in the fact that it demonstrated the precious features of a Marxist theoretician, which are: instead of adhering to rigid dogma, he proceeds from reality, pays attention to the general trend of socialist modernization, and listens to the voice of reform; he also ponders these problems deeply, confronts them boldly and earnestly, and researches them with a creative approach. The article was written in early 1983 when major successes had been achieved in rural economic reform and urban economic reform had just begun. Comrade Zhou Yang warmly embraced the gratifying situation brought about by socialist reform. His discussion of "alienation" in that article was not prompted by some sudden impulse; the discussion stemmed from Comrade Zhou Yang's long and hard thinking on issues. In fact, he had studied this issue in the 1960's and discussed it with friends for nearly 8 years after the downfall of the "gang of four." His approach to the issue was therefore both daring and serious. It was normal to have different opinions on this

issue, which is an academic one that should be discussed freely in a democratic, harmonious, and friendly atmosphere marked by unity, in which criticism and counter criticism can be carried out with reason.

First, Comrade Zhou Yang stated in his article that "Marxism is a developing theory." This of course is not Comrade Zhou Yang's original idea. Marxism has never posed as an all-embracing and ultimate intellectual institution; it considers itself a branch of creative science. By clarifying the relationship between relative truth and absolute truth, this principle had time and again been elucidated by Engels himself in his works, such as "Dialectics of Nature," "Anti-Duhring," and "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy." According to Engels, it was absurd and sheer nonsense to say that an all-embracing institution had come into being at a certain stage of human development, thus precluding any further growth of human intellect. Nevertheless, Marxism has long been regarded by some people as a complete and closed institution and a rigid and ossified dogma. It seems to these people that Marxism represents the "Apex" of human knowledge, allowing no further progress or breakthrough of outmoded theories; and that, besides safeguarding its "purity," there is no need for Marxism to constantly demand man's progressive thinking. Under the new situation of social reform, this issue has been vividly presented: while reform requires Marxist guidance, Marxism itself must also develop; and if we are only allowed to look for readily available answers in Marxist works and cannot go beyond their conclusions and principles, our reforms can hardly proceed. The reintroduction of Comrade Zhou Yang's theory that Marxism is a developing theory is therefore extremely realistic and relevant. Since China's socialist economic system has long been bound by foreign modes, we now have a theoretical basis for breaking through the established modes by reiterating that Marxism is a developing theory. Comrade Zhou Yang said in his article: "Since Marxism is developing, there can be no established modes for socialist revolution and construction." This is a revolutionary conclusion.

The "Great Cultural Revolution" was the inevitable result of expanding the class struggle, making it an absolute necessity from theory to practice during the previous decade. This had to do with the philosophical negation of the unity of contradictions, and the failure to completely master the law of the unity of opposites in the theory of knowledge. In his article, Comrade Zhou Yang analyzed the mistake of stressing the struggle of opposites and failing to stress the unity of opposites. This was the philosophical expression of the political viewpoint that class struggle was growing more acute. Comrade Mao Zedong once adhered to the viewpoint of the unity of contradictions. However, in his old age, he went against his own correct viewpoint and considered the struggle of opposites an absolute necessity by using the concepts of "one dividing into two" and opposing "two combining into one." This resulted in the expansion of the political class struggle, which eventually led to ruthless internal disorder.

In his article, Comrade Zhou Yang attracted the people's attention by raising the question of Marxist humanism. This was not a random notion, but an important theoretical topic presented by history and by our times. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," "human nature" and "humanism" were committed to oblivion, while "brutish nature" and "the divine way" gained popularity. In

order to achieve socialist modernization in the new period, it is necessary to fully arouse the people's socialist enthusiasm. Therefore, it has become an irresistible trend to respect man's dignity and values, respect the people's democratic rights in a socialist society, fully develop man's talents, correctly handle the relationship between man's freedom and responsibility, and smash the feudal traditions that hamper historical progress. In Marxism, man regains the position he deserves. Indeed, humanism has a long history. It is a complex issue which has been blurred by the bourgeoisie.

Here Comrade Zhou Yang talks about Marxist humanism, which differs from bourgeois humanism and has its specific historical characteristics. Comrade Mao Zedong called it revolutionary humanism. Some comrades call it socialist humanism. This is all right. These comrades should not be criticized simply because their concept differs from that of Comrade Mao Zedong. Of course, it is not justified to criticize those people who refer to Marxist humanism or proletarian humanism as "heresy." There is no reason to have only one authoritative version. Comrade Zhou Yang first analyzed the fundamental difference between the ideological structures of bourgeois and Marxist humanism, and opposed incorporating Marxist humanism within the structure of humanism. However, he recognized that Marxism encompasses humanism. He explicitly said: "In Marxism, man has an important position." Marxism is concerned about and pays attention to man in society, in reality and in practice. It stands for liberating the whole of mankind through the liberation of the proletariat. In his article, Comrade Zhou Yang expounded the Marxist idea of all-round development of mankind. Achieving all-round development of mankind is communism's particular "objective." Communism is "A social form which upholds the basic principle of ensuring the all-round and free development of every person." Comrade Zhou Yang's expositions on Marxist humanism demonstrate his enthusiasm for Marxism and his complete affirmation of and confidence in socialism and communism. They have tremendous theoretical and practical significance. From "Recent Works of Zhou Yang," we can somehow learn about the trend of thought among intellectuals in a decade as well as trace the ideological trend of the times.

Before writing this article, I again visited Comrade Zhou Yang at the hospital. He looked emaciated and expressionless. We remained speechless at the sickbed. Seeing Comrade Zhou Yang being tortured by illness, I could hardly suppress my grief and indignation. It naturally reminded me of what Marx said in his work "Preface to a Critique of Political Economy": "The entry into science is like the entry into hell." Comrade Zhou Yang again suffers spiritual and physical pain for the sake of pursuing truth.

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CSO: 4005/020

BAINQEN ERDINI INSPECTS QAMDO PREFECTURE IN XIZANG

HK120123 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Sep 86

[Excerpts] After successfully concluding his inspection visit to Jomda County, NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain arrived in Qamdo, a place of strategic importance in central Xizang, on 8 September. He was warmly welcomed by people from all circles.

When the vice chairman arrived at the gate of the building of the Qamdo military subdistrict, the long-awaiting regional party committee Secretary Gyanincain Norbu, and Qamdo prefectural party, government, and Army leaders presented Hada to Bainqen, the living Buddha (Jia Ya), and (Zuo Jia), vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, and extended kind regards and a warm welcome to them.

On the afternoon of 8 September, responsible comrades of the Qamdo prefectural party, government, Army and CPPCC Committee went to the Qamda Hotel to call on Vice Chairman Bainqen.

During the meeting the NPC vice chairman said: in accordance with instructions of central leading comrades and entrusted by the NPC Standing Committee, I have inspected Sichuan's Garze, am now inspecting Xizang's Qamdo, and shall inspect Yunnan's Deqen. He said: in the past there were many leftist things in Xizang, especially in Qamdo. The regional party committee called for going further in three respects [in negating the Cultural Revolution, in eliminating leftist ideological influence, and in straightening out the ideological line], which was absolutely correct. I hope that my current inspection visit will promote future work in Qamdo Prefecture. Bainqen also expressed the hope that our cadres will broaden their outlook, have the overall situation on mind, attain a lofty realm of thought, and do more good things for the people.

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CSO: 4005/3

CHENG MING REPORTS BEIDAIHE CONFERENCE HAPPENINGS

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["Notes on a Northern Journey" by Luo Ping [5012 0393]: "The Inside Story of the Beidaihe Conference"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] A Lot of Topics But Two Central Topics for Discussion

During the hot summer season, Zhongnanhai activities move to Beidaihe, as usual. Special carriages and special trains on the Beijing-Shenyang railroad carry members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, members of the Politburo, members of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and high officials of the State Council to the summer resort which is 400 kilometers away from Beijing.

According to reliable resources, this time the Beidaihe conference discussed a wide range of questions including the question of contracting, renting, and selling small and medium-sized enterprises under state ownership to collectives or individuals; the question regarding the reform of the financial structure; the question of readjusting and relaxing the controls on the prices of steel products; the question of ownership; and so on. However, the central topic for discussion at the conference was two questions concerning the Sixth Plenary Session which will be held in the last 10 days of September: One was the question of spiritual civilization and the reform of the political structure; the other was the question concerning the personnel arrangements for the 13th Party Congress to be held next year. The conference spent more time discussing the first question.

Two Difficult Questions and Who Is To Succeed Deng

The above two questions will be the main topics for discussion at the Sixth Plenary Session. It is proper to say that this Beidaihe conference was aimed at making preparations for the Sixth Plenary Session.

A well-informed person told me that at present the CPC is confronted with two difficult questions.

One is who is to succeed Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the Military Commission of CPC Central Committee. Deng had long been ready to let Hu Yaobang take over

the post at the 13th Party Congress to be held next year. Over the past year, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has been unusually active in the army. This fact obviously shows that Hu will succeed Deng as chairman of the Military Commission of CPC Central Committee. However, when Deng Xiaoping recently brought up his retirement again, a lot of veteran cadres did not agree. Deng's retirement will mean that Deng Xiaoping is to resign as chairman of the CPC Central Advisory Commission, chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission, and chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC. Does this mean that those veteran cadres will prevent Hu Yaobang from succeeding Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission?

#### Veteran High-Ranking Officers Comment on Hu Yaobang

On situation unfavorable to Hu Yaobang is that the general mood of the troops is not good. As a result, the high-ranking officers blame the general secretary and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee for not having done sufficient ideological work and demonstrating a trend of rightist deviation. At the end of last year, at the fourth meeting of Chinese Writers' Association, Hu Qili talked about "freedom of creation." Immediately after that Hu Yaobang made a famous speech on writing news reports according to an 80-20 ratio. Why did such a change take place? It has been learned that Hu Yaobang received pressure from the military before making his speech. At a meeting, Yang Shangkun and Yu Qiuli criticized the trend of "opposing only rightist deviation and not opposing leftist deviation" in the ideology and politics. Their criticisms were actually aimed at Hu Yaobang. Under such circumstances, no matter what Hu Yaobang. Under such circumstances, no matter what Hu might believe in his heart, he had to politically show that he "opposes both rightist deviation and leftist deviation." This is the real background to Hu Yaobang's speech on the 80-20 ratio.

From this we can see that it will not be so easy for Hu Yaobang to succeed Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission.

Two months ago, Hu Yaobang made a speech at a science conference, stating that "science is not aimed at criticizing liberalization but at fighting ignorance and enabling mankind to boldly pursue truth." Hu's remarks were perfectly correct. However, when his speech was relayed to the lower levels, the above statement was omitted. People began to wonder whether Hu Yaobang himself withdrew his remarks or if the statement was omitted because of strong opposition.

#### Tian and Li Lack Qualifications To Become Premier

The second difficult question concerns candidates for the premiership, that is, who will succeed Zhao Ziyang as China's premier. The CPC originally planned to choose either Li Peng or Tian Jiyun, but after a period of observation and collection of opinions from inside and outside the State Council, the CPC has come to believe that neither is an ideal candidate. Li Peng's past work has nothing to do with reform, so he lacks reform experience. China's present premier is actually a premier engaged in carrying out reforms. Without reform experience, how can he succeed the present premier? What is more, Li Peng is

a returned student from the Soviet Union, so veteran cadres of the CPC do not completely trust him. Although Tian Jiyun's past work dealt with the reform and he has experience in carrying out economic reforms, last year's financial turmoil and this year's price reform have made people believe that he lacks the qualifications to be premier.

#### Zhao Ziyang Will Probably be Reelected Premier

Several months ago, the CPC policy makers discovered this problem and promoted Qiao Shi to vice premier, adding one more name to the premier candidate name-list. Qiao Shi is comparatively sedate and subtle. He has organizational ability and is familiar with the people working in all fields, so he is liked by the CPC cadres. Because he used to work for the Communist Youth League, he has a close relationship with Hu Yaobang. However, because his past work has nothing to do with the economic reform, Qiao Shi is also not considered an ideal successor to the premier. Another vice premier is Wan Li. Wan Li is open-minded and could be a capable premier, but he is a bit too old. According to the rules, he cannot become premier. Therefore, finding a successor for the premier has become a difficult problem. The CPC upper circles were of the opinion that under present circumstances, it would be better to let Zhao Ziyang be reelected premier. According to the Constitution, the premier cannot be reelected. However, this rule was enacted in the middle of Zhao Ziyang's term of office, so it is not considered a complete term. Therefore, it is still possible for him to be reelected. Of course, this is only a tentative opinion. No decision was made during the Beidaihe conference. Well-informed people said that there still remains a great possibility that Zhao Ziyang will be reelected.

#### The Original Version of the Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session

Other questions concerning personnel matters can easily be answered. For instance, it is almost certain that Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, will leave his post at the 13th Party Congress and be succeeded by Hu Qili. Some people believe that when Hu Qili becomes general secretary, he will probably cooperate better with Zhao Ziyang.

The Beidaihe conference mainly discussed the issues of spiritual civilization and reform of the political structure.

This is because the Sixth Plenary Session will pass a resolution concerning spiritual civilization. The Beidaihe conference discussed the relevant questions. The results of the discussion will be the original version of the relevant resolution to be passed at the Sixth Plenary Session.

That the Beidaihe conference stressed the building of spiritual civilization and the reform of the political structure is because of three needs:

The need for economic reform, the need for coping with public opinion and the party's desire to surpass other "communist countries" in carrying out economic reform. The first two needs are more important.

## Difficulties in Reforming the Economic Structure and the Necessity To Reform the Political Structure

The economic reform is now confronted with enormous difficulties and problems which are concerned with the question of centralization and delegation of power and the autocracy and democracy in political life. On 28 June this year, Deng Xiaoping made a speech at a meeting held by the Standing Committee of the Politburo, pointing out:

/The reform of the political structure and the reform of the economic structure should rely on each other and cooperate with each other. If we only carry out economic reform and not political reform we will not be able to carry the reform of economic structure through to its end. This is because we will first meet with artificially imposed obstacles./

Deng Xiaoping explained the meaning of artificially imposed obstacles, saying:

/Many units have withdrawn the powers delegated to the lower levels through the form of a company. We advocate that powers should be delegated to the lower levels, but they have withdrawn the powers from the lower levels./

The above remarks of Deng Xiaoping were disclosed by "ZUZHIRENSHI XINXI BAO" [ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL INFORMATION PAPER] The paper neither mentioned when nor where Deng Xiaoping made the speech. Does this mean it is a secret? I have learned from well-informed sources that Deng Xiaoping made the above speech at a Politburo Standing Committee meeting on 28 June this year.

## Deng Only Stressed Administrative Reform

In his speech at the Politburo Standing Committee meeting, Deng Xiaoping also mentioned:

"The last time I talked about the economic work with Comrade Ziyang and some other comrades, I gave some opinions and asked them to pay attention to reforming the political structure." The timing and contents of Deng Xiaoping's talk with Zhao Ziyang and others have not been made public. A well-informed person told me that a document says that on 10 June this year, Deng Xiaoping listened to a report on the economic situation. The report meeting was attended by Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li, Hu Qili, Yao Yilin, Tian Jiyun, and Zhang Jinfu. After listening to the report (made by Yao and supplemented by Zhao), Deng Xiaoping said:

/Last year our foreign exchange reserves decreased more than \$6 billion and our foreign trade deficit was more than \$10 billion. We must study the question of increasing the coal export volume. It seems that we will not be able to cope with the situation unless we carry out reform of the political structure. The number of our organizations has not yet been reduced, but instead has increased. When you delegate (powers) here, he will withdraw powers there. Many companies have emerged, which are actually government organizations. Price subsidies are actually a big burden because we have to spend billions of U.S. dollars. Recently, Hungary's Janos Kadar said that reform is concerned with the question of price reform and the question of delegation of powers./

Deng Xiaoping spoke so much (because he "exposed" the "dark aspect," it is believed that Deng's remarks will not be made public), but his remarks can be boiled down to one sentence: in order to solve the problems of the economic reform, it is necessary to carry out the reform of the political structure. However, Deng only stressed one aspect of the reform of the political structure --administrative reform.

### The Academic Circles Strongly Demand Democracy

On the other hand, the CPC, which has always stressed uniformity in public opinion and maintaining an autocratic structure, has felt great pressure from public opinion and maintaining an autocratic structure, has felt great pressure from public opinion in China over the past few months. Theoretical, literary, and art circles have seized upon Deng's advocating "political reform" to publicize their views. Some have given annotations to "political reform" and some have deduced "political reform," while others have broken through the limits of administrative reform to loudly demand democracy and appeal to the authorities to cast away feudalism (and autocracy). Some demand rule by law and appeal to the authorities to end the practice of rule by man. Some people have even advanced the slogan of political pluralism. The intellectuals' struggle against cultural autocracy and academic autocracy has achieved marked successes, such as the Ma Ding incident and the Liu Zaifu incident. Some incidents have not yet been made public but the struggle is still going on.

Since the remarks of Yu Haocheng, whose name is familiar to people abroad, were considered to be rebellious, he has been under investigation. In March of this year, Yu was quietly removed from office on the pretext that he is already 60 years old. He has been removed from his posts as director and editor-in-chief at Qunzhong Publishing House. Like Wang Ruoshui, he now stays at home and writes. Besides writing "Liu Shaoqi's Biography," he has also written articles advocating democracy and a legal system. The editors of some newspapers and magazines have been bold enough to publish his articles.

### Support for Yu Haocheng and Fang Lizhi

Some people in the theoretical and juristic circles have been indignant about the CPC's suppression of Yu Haocheng and Wang Ruoshui and others. Once they have a chance, these people will fearlessly speak up for them. This is indeed great pressure on the CPC.

What is unknown to the outside world is the Fang Lizhi incident.

Fang Lizhi is the vice president of the China Science and Technology University and a well-known astrophysicist. He has criticized the works of Marx and Engels, especially Engels' "dialectics of Nature" from the view of natural sciences, pointing out that some of Engels' arguments are untenable. Although this was purely an academic exploration, those in power ordered Fang Lizhi to make self-criticism and some people even advised him to withdraw from the party. Early this May, a newspaper in Beijing began to launch criticisms of him. This situation has greatly offended Beijing's intellectual circles. At a symposium

on the "double hundred" policy, Xu Liangying, director of the Institute of History under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said vehemently: "If some people continue to persecute Fang Lizhi, I will organize scholars to jointly sign a petition and submit it to the central authorities." His remarks received thunderous applause, which showed the intellectuals' resentment and discontent with autocratic politics.

CHENG MING readers must have heard the name of Xiong Yingwu, a professor at Heilongjiang University. Because he once wrote articles criticizing "Das Kapital," he has received great pressure. What happened later? The academic and theoretical circles spoke up for him. Although some people organized criticism of Xiong Yingwu's articles, they were finally criticized by others. Xiong Yingwu's name has become well-known and his prestige has greatly increased. Some newspapers and magazines have recently published Xiong Yingwu's articles on prominent pages. This is a silent protest against those academic killers.

#### Continuing To Appeal for Redress of the Injustice Done to Guo Luoji

The theoretical and academic circles have been continuously appealing for redress of the injustice done to Guo Luoji, who is the vanguard in publicizing democratic theories.

Do you still remember Guo Luoji? Seven years ago he published his article "Political Questions Can Be Discussed." Later he was severely criticized. A newspaper in Shanghai recently reported Guo Luoji's situation. His experience over the past few years have incontrovertibly proved that China desperately needs democracy!

After the downfall of the gang of four, Guo Luoji, a scholar who had been teaching in universities for many years, received continuous pressure from all sides. In the first year after the downfall of the gang of four, he was elected a deputy of the Beijing Municipal People's Congress at Beijing University. At a meeting to decide whether to elect Cao Yoiu (Kang Sheng's wife) a deputy to the National People's Congress, Guo Luoji voted against her. That was the first negative note at the provincial and municipal people's congresses. At the meeting, Guo Luoji also made a speech and accused Wu De, then mayor of Beijing, of obstructing the struggle to expose and criticize the gang of four and practicing the "two whatevers" at Beijing University. His speech was stopped by the applause of the deputies over 10 times. Guo Luoji was later persecuted by those in power. Wu De asked Hua Guofeng for instructions. Hua Guofeng said: "We must suppress it." As a result, the people's congress was held for 5 more days purposely to criticize Guo Luoji. At the meeting, Guo Luoji's remarks were denounced as "rights remarks" and any articles and speeches supporting Guo Luoji's view were banned from being published in the meeting's bulletin. In January 1978, Guo Luoji published an article entitled "To Bring About Ideological Emancipation" in RENMIN RIBAO, evoking nationwide repercussions. When the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was held, Guo Luoji did "spend some happy days." During that time, he attended a theoretical meeting to discuss principles and ideological guidelines and was also invited to give speeches in Sichuan, Wuhan and Beijing.

### Three Indictments and Private Criticisms

However, Guo Luoji's remarks often evoke much controversy. Once, when Guo gave a report on the criterion of and the question of seeking truth from facts at Sichuan University in Chengdu to a full assembly hall, someone said that he was making a counterrevolutionary speech. In 1979 he wrote an article entitled "Whose Crime?" commenting on the Zhang Zhixin incident. His article was published in QUANGMING RIBAO and evoked strong presponses. GUANGMING RIBAO received over 2,000 letters from people. Some readers said: "If such an article is investigated, I would like to be investigated too." However, at that time some people privately prepared three indictments against Guo Luoji: The first was that he was negating the Cultural Revolution; the second was that he was opposing Chairman Mao; the third was that his purpose in advocating transformation of the social environment was to negate the socialist system. In the same year, Guo Luoji published his article in JIAOYU YANJIU [EDUCATION RESEARCH] which was entitled "To Make Up the Lesson of Discussing the Criterion of Truth, a Major Discussion on the Question of Education Should Be Held." This article covered the criterion of truth to reform and was aimed at exploring a new way for educational reform. After the article was published, the Ministry of Education privately organized criticism of the article. Although Guo Luoji repeatedly demanded to attend the criticism meeting, his request was refused. Immediately after that, he published an article entitled "A comment on the So-Called Confidence Crisis" in WEN HUI BAO, but some people said that he was producing a confidence crisis, so he received great pressure.

### No Argument at the Criticism Meeting

Later, Guo Luoji published an article entitled "Political Issues Can Be Discussed," arguing that if political issues cannot be discussed, there would be "no talk on state affairs" (a political characteristic during the rule of the nationalists) and politics would become autocratic politics and oligarchy. Some people were angry about this article. Since the second half of 1979, the department concerned has held several meetings to criticize Guo Luoji, but Guo was not allowed to attend these meetings or to argue his case. Someone even wrote an order and asked some newspapers to criticize Guo Luoji and to publish only articles criticizing him. In 1982, someone even unreasonably transferred Guo Luoji from Beiming University to Nanjing University. The transfer order was issued by the Ministry of Education. Wasn't it a joke? At Nanjing University, the Ministry of Education stipulated that Guo Luoji could only be a teacher and could not be a cadre, thus depriving him of the right to be elected. Furthermore, his articles were banned from publication. Some newspapers and editors were criticized for publishing his articles. People no longer dared invite him to attend academic meetings. Sometimes he wrote articles, but he could not use his own name, and even the signature at the end of his draft article was "borrowed" from his friends! For many years, Guo Luoji has been teaching postgraduates and giving lectures on special topics. He has also compiled many educational materials. Some of his students have already become associate professors, but he is still a lecturer. At the age of 16, when he was a middle school student in Wuxi, he joined the underground party. Now 38 years have passed, and ironically, he is still an unregistered party member. The party rectification campaign demanded that all party members be

reregistered, but when Guo Luoji asked to be registered, he was told that he "would not be discussed for the time being." Whenever the theoretical circles think about Guo Luoji, they express reservations on Zhongnanhai's call for political reform. This is of course something the CPC would not like to see.

#### Outlines for Building Spiritual Civilization

It has been learned that after some discussions, the Beidaihe conference drafted some outlines for building spiritual civilization (main points):

1. The reform is a profound social transformation and must be thoroughly affirmed.
2. The building of spiritual civilization must beat gongs to clear the way for the reform and new productive forces.
3. To build a high degree of socialist democracy and socialism, we should also stress human rights and freedom.
4. Social science research must be geared to the reform and the four modernizations and should not be confined to Marxist books.
5. To foster socialist literature and art, it is first essential to provide a harmonious environment.
6. It is necessary to study ideological and political work under the condition of opening up to the world.

The "essence" of the above six points is "to create a relaxed and harmonious atmosphere and environment," "to politically relax," and "to adopt a democratic attitude towards literature and art."

The above six points are actually the keynote of Hu Qili's speech on spiritual civilization, which was delivered on behalf of the CPC Central Committee to some units in Shanghai in April of this year. The relevant resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session will contain the details of these outlines.

#### The Issue of Reforming the Political Structure and Different Views

A well-informed person told me that when the Beidaihe conference discussed the question of reforming the political structure, there was a lot of dispute. The officials could not reach a consensus on certain questions. The questions discussed at the conference were:

Whether the focal point of political reform is reform of the administrative structure or reform of the structure of state power;

why the functions of the party are still not separated from those of the government and why power is still over-centralized;

will reform of the political structure be carried out in an overall and coordinated way or in stages; and

how the party should change its present methods of ruling the country (someone mentioned that this opinion was carried in a speech made by Deng Xiaoping in 1980).

During the discussion at the Beidaihe conference, someone complained about Shanghai's SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, saying that some news reports and articles advocated a multiparty system and were aimed at abolishing the party's leadership. Inside and outside the conference, some veteran cadres were extremely disgusted with the notion of casting away the party's leadership. However, there were also some who defended SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO.

At the conference, a lot of veteran cadres pointed out: The aim of the reform of political structure is to stick to the party's leadership, so the "four upholds" must never be abandoned. Some people did not agree with this view. They thought that the fundamental aim of the reform of the political structure is to achieve democracy. Furthermore, some pointed out that the most important thing at present is to achieve democracy in policymaking.

Although the Beidaihe conference held many discussions on reform of the political structure, no explicit and specific conclusion was reached because of differences of opinion. Finally, the policymakers pointed out that reform of the political structure can continue to be discussed both inside and outside the party and both in the government and in public, but the reform should not be carried out hastily. Investigations, studies, and experiments should be carried out first. Specific arrangements for the overall reform of the political structure will be initiated later.

"Relaxation and Harmony" and "Wait and See"

Although there have been heated discussions on reform of the political structure among the people, and members of theoretical and academic circles have written articles and given various opinions, thus creating a mood of "a hundred schools of thought contending," CPC leaders have not yet made clear-cut statements on the issue. Some people even think that the CPC leaders only want administrative reform, an incomplete separation between party and government functions, and the delegation of power, but do not want an overall reform of the present political structure. If such is the case, the so-called reform of the present political structure will be nothing but a means of dealing with public opinion and a political game evolved from the political trickery of "adroitly guiding action according to circumstances."

This April, Hu Qili made a series of speeches on the building of spiritual civilization in some units, proposing to create a "relaxed and harmonious environment," but many intellectuals adopted a calm attitude and wait-and-see attitude because they had already tired of political games.

If the Communist Party continues to play politics, will it have the people's support? Will it be able to overcome the difficulties in the reform of the economic structure? Will it be able to calm people's sentiments? The intellectuals have become politically more mature and the people's political consciousness has also reached a new level.

Those who believe that the people in Beijing are extremely concerned with the Beidaihe conference and the upcoming Sixth Plenary Session are wrong. Although some are optimistic, when you ask the opinion of most of the intellectuals about the future of the reform, they either remain silent or just stretch out their hands and say: "Wait and see!"

I hope that these prophets and pessimists will eventually find themselves proved wrong.

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BRIEFS

HU YAOBANG WRITES INSCRIPTION--On 9 August, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, wrote an inscription for Hebei in Beidaihe: Bring Forth New Ideas in Dealing With Concrete Matters Relating to Work, and Unite in Advancing Bravely. This inscription fully manifested Comrade Hu Yaobang's concern for and great expectations of cadres at all levels and the people throughout the province. On 19 August, the provincial party committee held a Standing Committee meeting to discuss ways to study, publicize, and successfully implement Comrade Hu Yaobang's inscription. This inscription is totally consistent with the guidelines that young and middle-aged cadres should master two major skills, to creatively carry out the principles and policies of the central authorities and to correctly handle intraparty contradictions, as set forth by Comrade Hu Yaobang last April when he was inspecting Taihang Shan. [Excerpts] [Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 20 Aug 86 SK] /12624

'RANDOM THOUGHTS' MANUSCRIPTS COMPLETED--Beijing, 6 September (XINHUA)--Chinese novelist Ba Jin, 82, has completed manuscripts for a book about his 60 year's writing career. He began the work in 1978. According to today's PEOPLE'S DAILY, his five-volume, 420,000 character book, entitled "Random Thoughts," contains 150 prose texts. At a recent meeting held by the weekly LITERARY GAZETTE to mark the completion of the manuscripts, writers called his new text "a great book speaking the truth." In 1982 recipient of the International Dante Prize, Ba Jin now serves as the chairman of the Chinese Writers Association. His representative works include "Family," "Spring," "Autumn," "The Trilogy of Love" and "Autumn in Spring." In 1983 French President Francois Mitterrand awarded Ba Jin the "Legion of Honor" in Shanghai. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0057 GMT 6 Sep 86 OW] /12913

LINGUIST ADMITTED TO COMMUNIST PARTY--Beijing, 11 September (XINHUA)--Lu Shuxiang, a leading linguist and grammarian of China's, was admitted as a member by the Chinese Communist Party here today. Lu, 82, once studied at Britain's Oxford and London universities. He is author of several authoritative Chinese grammar books and deputy to the National People's Congress. In 1983, he donated 60,000 yuan to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences as a fund to encourage young linguists. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1458 GMT 11 Sep 86 OW] /12913

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## IMPORTANCE OF REFORM TO RURAL ECONOMY DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 23, 6 Jun 86 pp 26-27

[Article by Zhou Yuan [0719 0626]: "'A New Generation of People', An Interview with Ji Bingxuan, Secretary of Yanshi County Party Committee"]

[Text] In the decades of being a journalist, I have interviewed many county party committee secretaries, including Ji Bingxuan, secretary of the party committee of Yanshi County, Henan. Ji Bingxuan [0679 3521 6513], is now 34 years old, younger than all others. Before assuming his present position a little over a year ago, he was a county magistrate for 2 years. Before interviewing this young party secretary, I was mentally prepared to do some home work, and presumed that a young man usually lacks experience, and ahead of him are hurdles he must overcome in order to build up his knowledge and experience and develop his talent.

With a comfortable and easy air prevailing over the interview, he talked in a calm monotone while I listened attentively so that I would not miss those important points and pertinent figures. Although I knew that those economic data I had written down are mostly useless, I still jotted them down on paper as if a force of habit persuaded me to do so. When I did the writing, I kept reminding myself that he simply repeated what his predecessors had said before him despite new figures and new developments. Generally speaking, Yanshi and other counties are all in the same situation. Like his predecessors, Ji Bingxuan followed the same old path and did the same old talking. The only difference between him and his predecessors is the subject matter. His subject matter is a variety of problems concerning commodity production while his predecessors' was a variety of agricultural productive activities. It appears that county party committee secretaries of this generation have been left no alternative but to grope in the footsteps of their predecessors. At the end of the more than 3 hours interview, I habitually closed the notebook and began a meditation. Suddenly, a voice buzzed in my ears, making me feel as if there were a silver lining looming large in my eyes. By this time, Ji Bingxuan murmured with a prodding tone: "Should fellows like me continue parroting what others say or try something else to solve problems in a way appropriate to actual local conditions?" I immediately applauded and said: "A good questions. I want to know about your views on this."

He said: "Let us continue tomorrow."

The following day when Ji Bingxuan entered the conference room, a fellow reporter accompanying me whispered in my ear: "Look at his eyes which tell me that last night he got no sleep." I then looked at him and was impressed by his thoughtful demeanor.

After sitting down, as was expected, Ji Bingxuan began a briefing in a well-organized way while riveting his eyes to a notebook loaded with hard facts he wrote down last night.

He said: "Various conditions of the 1980's have undergone changes. Gone are the great leap forward of the 1950's and the great cultural revolution of the 1970's. Meanwhile, the leftist trash has been eliminated and the system of the planned economy is in the process of transformation. How should a county party committee secretary of the 1980's carry out his tasks?

"What attitude should we take toward ourselves and our tasks after we were placed in our present leadership positions by the historical currents? We are nothing but county party committee secretaries of this generation. First, we are not revolutionary heroes who can command high respect. Second, we are not well-experienced cadres moving upward step by step from the grass roots. Third, we have no credentials in areas of technology and invention. It is the economic development of modern times that has placed us where we are. Economic reform is our future and our lifeline. We must take our position as the most advanced representatives of productive forces of our time. We must bring economic reform to a successful conclusion. We must see that it will succeed and will not fail. If we fail, we must automatically step down and give our positions to younger successors in accordance with the demands of the Central Committee and the wishes of the masses. Merely being an honest public servant as distinguished from other greedy and corrupt officials is far from satisfactory. We must prove ourselves to be ones who are not foolish, decadent, backward, ossified and conservative. The masses have placed different demands on us because they are no longer the same persons as we have seen before. Today, under the output-related system of contracted responsibility, peasants have also become another type of persons.

"In the past, what a peasant yearned for during the off farming season was light work which gave more work points which enabled him to provide his family with refined white flour bread and his daughters with good-quality chests when they were old enough to get married. He also wanted to see that his sons were all employed. If he could do all this, he would be satisfied. But today is different. The enforcement of the output-related system of contracted responsibility has resulted in expanded commodity production and abolishing the centralized and assigned food grain procurement orders. In its wake is a wave of impact felt by people across the countryside, a wave that has directly carried peasants toward markets loaded with a wide variety of goods. Once they get there, some make profits just like fish swimming in water while others simply said: My god, I just don't know what to do with the market!". Joining the market, every peasant will have to consider the following question: what crops should he grow and what should he do so that he can parlay his investment into the biggest

profit ever. By this time, what peasants expect of their leadership is not exhortations urging them to harvest wheat or do the spring farming but services. My home is crowded with peasants almost everyday. What they want from me is information, capital, technology, land where plants can be built, motorcycles, and tractors. Today, peasants are motivated from within by a force in favor of development but independent of man's will. It is a pioneering force that no one can resist. If those of us now in leadership positions can adapt themselves to this new situation, they can certainly serve peasants in a better way than others who are unable to measure themselves up to this situation. As for myself, I cannot say that I am not a corrupt official or that I do not engage in unhealthy practices. The masses won't be satisfied even if I prove to them that I am Mr Clean capable of redressing grievances from the masses. Placing demands on oneself in this way means underestimating oneself. We must do something compatible with the development of history. We must promote economic reform and develop productive forces. If that is not the case, why don't we call old retired comrades back to service and what useful purposes can be served by keeping us where we are now?" As I mentioned earlier, Ji Bingxuan is the youngest county party committee secretary I have ever interviewed. After listening to the above remarks, I want to say that he is a young man saturated with a modern spirit, a man with the keenest sense of responsibility for history, and a man standing out with good judgment. It is wrong to regard young men with contempt. I deeply feel that we must feel enchanted with our party's decision to employ this group of middle-aged and younger cadres, who represent our hopes and our brilliant future.

In a general analysis of the well-being of more than 700,000 peasants in Yanshi, Ji Bingxuan said:

"Some 10 percent of peasants now on the way to become rich have begun to build multi-story homes, and put into use new equipment. Judging from what they eat and wear, they can be called the first class peasants in the countryside.

"Some 60 percent of those looking forward to becoming rich are still groping for ways leading to affluence. So far, they have not yet taken any serious step in that direction. They are often seen in streets making this an issue and a subject of debate. Wherever they go, they actively seek information in the hope that someone has opened a path so others can take advantage of it. They are now supposed to be the most active force in the countryside.

"Some 20 percent are peasants wearing broad smiles or members of well-fed and well-clothed peasant households. They often say: they are not lazy bones. With an annual income of nearly 1,000 yuan, they are no longer worried about the availability of food and clothes. Who knows whether the policy is subject to change or not?

"Another 10 percent scattered across the mountains live in poverty. With per-capita income of 180 yuan a year, they depend on raising hogs and cattle in exchange for edible oil and salt. They are major targets of our support.

"As the peasants' way of life and social concepts undergo changes, and with their destiny in their own hands, they have become masters of their own society. They can no longer be pushed around by anyone any more. In old time, brigade cadres were very popular with villagers. Today, their popularity steadily declines because of their inability to provide services that will guide peasants to become rich. Now in the countryside, nothing is more important than to lead people to become rich. Any proposal to help peasants become rich will have their full support and any proposal that does not offer such help will be rejected by them. Peasant Zhang Daan [1728 1129 1344] one day came to see me at home and said: magistrate, what shall I do now? You told me that by growing white poplar seedlings, I could make a fortune. Now I cannot sell these seedlings. What am I supposed to do? In my opinion, this demand is justified.

"We are living in an era in which the old gives way to the new. As we-- county party committee secretaries of this generation--are leading the masses to **explore the** ways for development, we should never act and view problems in a stereotyped way."

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## REPORT ON GUANGDONG'S THEORETICAL CIRCLES

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 25, 23 Jun 86 pp 19-20

[Article by Li Ili [2621 0001 5867]: "A Look at Guangdong's Theoretical Circles"]

[Text] Recently, this author traveled south and visited Guangdong and met many friends in the theoretical circles. My first impression is that Guangdong's theoretical circles have developed a democratic, practical and open scholarly atmosphere, exhibiting the encouraging phenomenon of a flourishing of theories.

#### A Democratic Atmosphere

One day in the middle of May, I had the honor to attend a "seminar on the reform of ideological guidelines for study" convened by the provincial party committee. Those participating in the seminar included the standing committee of the provincial party committee and chief responsible comrades above the office and bureau levels in provincial organs. The seminar invited 2 economists to speak on a special topic; one of them was Zhuo Jiong [0587 3518], a former vice director of the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences, and the other was Wang Zhuo [3769 3820], vice director of the Guangdong Economic Reform Committee. The topic for discussion was commodity economy under socialist conditions. What was interesting was that the 2 specialists held different ideas and there were many opposing views. The audience was surprised to see that there were such opposing views expressed in a meeting to discuss ideological principles sponsored by the provincial party committee. What was going on? Was this deliberate? One of the responsible comrades of the provincial party committee in charge of the meeting explained that the debate was entirely natural and coincidental: the provincial party committee had neither "evaluated" drafts of their talks beforehand nor instructed them as to what to say; indeed, the debate between Zhuo and Wang had begun before that. It was not something bad for the theoretical circles to debate in their study of theoretical and scholarly issues. The provincial party committee believed that all these were natural and within the realm of academic democracy.

This incident impressed me deeply. In Guangdong, friends introduced me to the developing relaxed atmosphere which is conducive to the flourishing of

theories and the expansion of scholarly activities. The inner relationships of the theoretical circles and their relationships to all aspects of society are quite normal and harmonious. To use the words of some comrades, "there is rivalry between schools but no sectarian bias." In other words, contending between different opinions and understandings exists, but there is no room here for those who engage in sectarianism, in getting rid of those who disagree with them, in applying labels or in attacking others indiscriminately. There are many concrete examples to illustrate this, but the most popular one is the vigorous debate caused by Zhuo Jiong's theory of commodity economy.

Zhuo Jiong is a veteran social scientist who joined the revolution in the 1930's. He had taught at Zhongshan University and is now 78 years old. In the early 1960's, he had published an article in the magazine ZHONGGUO JINGJI WENTI proposing that socialism should implement a "planned commodity economy." Based on the bad results caused by the negation of commodity economy during the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, he believes that in the system of public ownership, products, whether they are from ownership by the whole people, or from collective ownership, as long as there is the social division of labor, have to go through a process of exchange and become commodities. We have to self-consciously use the law of value in order to arouse the active nature of the producers. He paid a high price for such bold explorations. After order had been brought out of chaos, Zhuo Jiong, who is now in his 70's, has been even more diligent in theoretical studies and writing, and was awarded the honor of a special model of labor. His ideas attracted a group of scholars and people who share the same views, forming the so-called "Zhuo Jiong School," or the "social division of labor school." However, there are many who hold views opposed to Zhuo Jiong's theories and in the past few years, there have been colorful scholarly debates on many occasions and in many publications in Guangdong. Such debates are still going on. Scholarly debates do not affect the normal relations between people. Cai Fusheng [5591 7450 3932], Head of Jinan's School of Economics and Zhuo Jiong are "opponents in debates" on scholarly matters, but they are also close friends. Such examples are very common in Guangdong's theoretical circles.

The creation of such a rather healthy and harmonious atmosphere does not depend on the quality of individuals but on the initiation and promotion of the party leadership. The Guangdong party committee adopts the policy of bringing order out of chaos, firmly reversing the cases of comrades who had been wronged in past campaigns. It openly advocates democratic freedom in scholarship, encouraging people to explore boldly; and as for certain mistakes and problems which emerge in the process of exploration, party leadership, based on analysis and principles, has been able to forgive and tolerate, thereby preserving the liveliness of scholarship. Such developments have been often praised by Guangdong's theoretical circles and have given people the courage to engage in theoretical studies. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the number of Guangdong's social science research organizations have increased from 16 to 86, and 61 scholarly social organizations have been revived or newly created, with more than 16,000 non-professional members. During the "Sixth 5-Year Plan," the whole province has produced more than 4,400 research items, and this is more than the sum total of the past 25 years.

## A Practical Learning Atmosphere

At Huanan Normal College, I have interviewed some of the editors and authors of two book series--"Series on the Modernization of Philosophy" and "Series on Philosophies of the New Era." They are some of those who have dedicated themselves to the exploration and cultivation of scholarship. The chief editor of the series is Huanan Normal College's vice-chancellor and professor of philosophy Li Keming [7812 0344 2494]. He is a scholar well-known for his lively ideas. In his not too large study, he gave a rather special speech: "We--the editors and authors of the series are not content to just sit and talk; we advocate action. It cannot go on like this if theory, especially philosophical studies, always lags behind the vital reality. When one advocates the modernization of philosophy, some people will engage enthusiastically in the rivalry over slogans and means, over whether this slogan is scientific or unscientific. Let them argue; our position is that 'before the argument is settled, the soldiers have already crossed the river'--let us take action first before saying another word. We organize our contingent and open up the territories. Our contingent includes professors, associate professors, and a group of young graduate students. Our common goal is to carry out applied philosophical research for the purpose of socialist modernization, to enrich and develop the integration of philosophy and modern science, and to search for and establish a series of branch disciplines so that philosophy can better play a more direct and specific leading function. Philosophy should answer a series of real questions which contemporary man is generally concerned with. All these are, of course, both broad and important issues and our action is only the first exploratory step."

At this time, of these 2 series, 3 titles in the "Series on the Modernization of Philosophy" have already been published and more than 100,000 copies have been printed. They are very popular with the readers and, with 6 other theoretical monographs published in Guangdong, have received the second place award for national popular political theory readers. As for the about-to-be-published "Series on Philosophies of the New Era," the manuscripts of five titles such as "Philosophy of Value" and "Philosophy of Management" have been completed and will be sent to the printer soon.

Here, we should also mention another book. It is also an exploration based on Guangdong theoretical workers' reflection on the reality and on their intent to reform. This is "A Reflection on Issues of Reality" published by Guangdong Higher Education Publishing Firm. Last year, the propaganda department of Guangdong party committee and the provincial Department of Higher Education invited some of the faculty and students from six institutions of higher learning in the Guangzhou area for a chat. The young students, based on their special sensitivity to and interest in life, raised many concrete and lively questions, for example: how to evaluate a person's worth, how to view life, how to deal with certain Western ideas and certain phenomena in our lives, and how to view the reforms. After the discussion, they decided to publish a book, based on the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and using the theoretical perspective, to answer the young people's questions. This book is based on the collective discussion and authorship of the

theoretical teachers in the various schools and edited by Zhongshan University's Professor Liu Rong [0491 1539]. It is not didactic and uses the approach of informal chats to discuss the issues and has inspired some university students. Guangdong has designated this book as one of the supplementary readings in its universities' political theory courses.

The practical learning atmosphere of Guangdong is also manifested in the theoretical circles' focus on activities which revolve around reform, opening to the outside and the four modernizations. In recent years, Guangdong has convened conferences for both theoretical and actual workers, such as a seminar on the theories for economic reforms, a seminar on strategies for socioeconomic development, a seminar on theories and policies on opening to the outside world, a seminar on the concept of "one country, two systems," a seminar on the development of Guangdong's external trade and commerce, and scholarly conferences on the special economic zones, and issues in the dialectic method of socialism. Many leading comrades of Guangdong and Guangzhou, such as Ye Xuanping [0673 6693 1627], Xie Fei [6200 7378], and Deng Hanguang [6772 3352 0342] have often found time to participate in such seminars. The many results of these meetings have already played a marked role in actual work.

Such activities have also profoundly changed the views of the theoretical contingent itself; more and more of them are moving from their studies toward society, from stressing the scholarly value of their topics to their social value, and from working on great multivolume scholarly works to surveys and research so as to provide evidences for solving actual problems. They are also proud of what they are doing. Many theoretical workers have been invited by organizations, enterprises and some rural units to write reports and act as consultants. According to estimates made by those concerned, more than 60 percent of the provincial theoretical contingent are now engaged in the study of actual problems.

In order to promote the social science workers' service to current reforms, open-door and construction, Guangzhou has also established a service company for the development of soft sciences. Members of this company are all young people whose political and educational qualities are relatively high and their average age is only 28. They use the contract responsibility method to organize the social and natural sciences workers of the Guangzhou area and their services include providing society with news, forecasts, feasibility research and policy studies. Since the founding of the company a year ago, it has already carried out research on such topics as: "policy on the fundamental improvement of Guangzhou's social order," "plan to examine and evaluate Guangzhou's party and political cadres," "plan to improve Guangzhou's traffic management," "on the tentative plan to build a 'fermentation valley' (bio-chemical engineering) in Guangzhou," and "policy and strategy on Guangzhou's development of the tertiary industry." All of these have received close attention from Guangzhou's party and municipal organs. They also have an information service for providing market news and feasibility studies for both domestic and foreign industrial and commercial enterprises. They have not received a penny of investment from the state, but they have done many good things for the country and have also made considerable profits.

## Attitude Toward Open-door Policy

At present, Guangdong has the largest number of in-coming and out-going households in the country and there are also many overseas Chinese townships. Geographically and historically, there are superior conditions for the open-door policy. With the implementation of the economic open-door policy, Guangdong has also begun scholarly exchanges with Hong Kong, Macao and many foreign countries.

During the spring of last year and this year, Guangdong's and part of Hong Kong and Macao's social scientists have successively held annual conferences on "Marching Toward the Relationship Between Guangdong and Hong Kong in the 21st Century" in Hong Kong and Zhuhai. In the speech at the opening ceremony of the first conference, Xie Zhiwei [6200 1807 0251], chancellor of Hong Kong's Baptist College said that historically, Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao belonged together. In the process of returning Hong Kong to the motherland, it is necessary for scholars from different systems and areas to study together the question of Guangdong and Hong Kong's development and to strengthen their cooperation. In the meeting, the tentative proposals to establish "Hong Kong studies" and studies in the Zhujiang Delta and the golden triangle of Hong Kong, Macao and Guangzhou aroused the interests of the conference participants. During the first conference, certain agreements have also been reached on future research cooperation and scholarly exchanges and the decision was made to have such a conference annually. Everyone agreed that these two conferences marked an auspicious beginning for the cooperative scholarly activities of scholars in Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao.

The "Conference on Sun Yat-sen" which was held in Guangzhou at the end of 1984 was also a major international conference. It invited scholars from Hong Kong, Macao, Japan, the United States, France, and Australia; and with scholars from our country, there was a total of more than 100 participants in the conference. The conference discussed vigorously Sun Yat-sen's thought and its historical place and role. Some foreign conference participants said, "I could never have thought that there is such a high scholarly standard of study of Sun Yat-sen in the mainland!"

According to data, during the "Sixth 5-Year Plan," there has been a lot of external scholarly activities in Guangdong. It received more than 300 delegations of experts and more than 1,000 persons from foreign countries and from Hong Kong and Macao. The number of times and persons sent abroad to give lectures has been more than 30, and the province has often sent scholars to Hong Kong, Macao and foreign countries for scholarly investigations. Such exchanges and investigations have resulted in a number of achievements of scholarly value and practical economic significance. For example, the investigation and research on prices in Guangdong and Hong Kong conducted jointly by the Guangdong Institute for Price Research and Jinan University has played an excellent role in enlightening the departments concerned in the adjustment of export prices so as to expand overseas exports through the Hong Kong market. Further, the scholarly circles and more and more people are paying attention to the study of the history of Hong Kong,

the history of overseas Chinese, the history of Guangdong administration through the centuries, the history of river transportation in Zhujiang, the history of Nanyang, and the "maritime silk route."

The open-door policy has a positive impact on the development of socioeconomic and theoretical studies in Guangdong. How about its impact on social trends and on the people's psychology?

Some of the scholars in Guangdong's social sciences circles have successively held two seminars, focusing on how to evaluate the role of the open-door policy and reform in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The seminar participants used the facts from their research and investigation to prove that the open-door policy and reform have not only promoted the building of socialist material civilization but have also played a positive role in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In the last few years, the positive changes in the spiritual life of Guangdong's urban population include: 1) The open-door and reform have caused Guangdong's broad masses of urban and rural population to go through two major transitions--from self-support or semiself-support to a commodity economy and from traditional agriculture to modernized agriculture, thereby freeing the people from the extreme left ideology which has fettered them for a long time and allowing them to have an emancipation of their spirits and a renewal of their understanding; 2) The open-door and reform have generally improved the livelihood of the broad masses of the people, thereby strengthening their love for and determination and faith in socialist construction. 3) The open-door and reform have compelled the broad masses of urban and rural population to raise constantly their educational levels. They realize that the key to becoming wealthy, to bringing order out of chaos, to getting rid of the dirt and becoming clean, and to becoming new is to be more educated. The pursuit of knowledge and education is the hallmark of the spiritual civilization of the urban and rural population. 4) The open-door and reform have propelled many basic level cadres, demobilized and retired army men and the broad masses of youths into becoming representatives of the advanced urban and rural productive force. They have idealism, morality, education, and discipline. They are informed, know many different ways, can endure hardship, and are efficient. They are showing their skills in the building of new socialist cities and villages, fully displaying the style of the era of a new generation. 5) The open-door and reform have also led people into a broad and deep social interaction (including external interactions). Urban and rural laborers are no longer simply living the life of the 3 steps: "work--eat--sleep": the rich and varied content of a spiritual life such as learning, recreation, social intercourse has been added, and these would certainly play a catalytic role in causing the people's thought and social trends to change from one of quantity to one of quality. All these have resulted from the positive role played by the open-door and reform; it is the mainstream. Of course, they would also bring something else. But as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out, if only we can achieve "first, the open-door, then the strengthening of ideological and political work," then we can certainly achieve victory on the two battle-fronts of material and spiritual civilizations!

12380/12947  
CSO: 4005/877

## BRIEFS

MAONAN NATIONALITY NAME CHANGE--In response to a request by the cadres and people of the Maonan nationality, the Huanjiang County People's Congress of Guangxi has adopted a resolution changing the nationality's name from Maonan [3029 7181] to Maonan [3029 0589]. The State Council recently sent a formal notice to the people's government of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, concurring with the request. One of the minorities residing in Guangxi, the Maonans retain their own spoken language, although they do not have a written language. Many Maonans can speak both Zhuang and Chinese and use written Chinese. [Text] [Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 86 p 1]

CSO:4005/1

## COMMENTARY URGES SANCTIONS AGAINST FRAME-UPS

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 86 p 1

[Commentary: "False Accusations Must Be Punished"]

[Text] False accusation is not only a trick used by despicable characters to harm people but also a violation of party discipline and state law. Those who make false accusations should not only be condemned by public opinions inside and outside the party but also be brought before law and discipline. They must not be allowed to remain at large. Recently after Gansu Province punished Li Shiming [2621 0013 2494] for committing the crime of false accusation, Guiyang City sternly dealt with the incident in which He Yunhua [0149 0061 5478], a worker of the Guiyang City New-style Decorative Materials Plant, lodged false accusations against his plant director and interfered with the reform. This is necessary for promoting healthy tendencies, supporting reform, and protecting good people.

Those who make false accusations always pose as "heroes" fighting with "evil people and evil things" under the high-sounding banner of "revolution." Their habitual practice is what leftists used during the period of "taking class struggle as the key link." They cook up charges, exaggerate criticism, make up stories, and distort facts. Moreover, they often use major tasks set forth by the party for every period such as party rectification and correcting unhealthy tendencies to exaggerate the issue. They will cook up information according to the issue you are investigating to mix the spurious with the genuine, disrupt your view, and hamper the smooth progress of the party's tasks. As they say "an eight-fen stamp keeps you busy for 6 months" and lead you by the nose. This not only makes the accused a victim but often causes serious interference and disruption on the correct judgement and normal work process of concerned leading organs.

At present, the spearhead of their attack is directed at reform and reformers. Reform is bound to touch some people's personal interests or selfish desire. Talented entrepreneurs are regarded highly by the party and the people, thus making those despicable characters who are jealous of worthy and virtuous people even more indignant. This often causes a strange phenomenon that whoever can and dares to work and is devoted to reform will bring upon themselves gratuitous attacks, as the saying goes "Malignance emerges when things go well and calumny follows noble character." This has dampened

healthy trends and encouraged evil practices. Some people call it "human pollution" which is very true.

The key to false accusation is that leaders must keep a sober head and not be provoked by those words that seem to be revolutionary. Especially, they should have basic understanding and evaluation of their subordinates and not easily believe slander. They should not let those who make false accusations to "cater to thier tastes" just because they have some "leftist" ideas left in their mind. Of course, more importantly, they should mete out serious punishment for those who make false accusations. There is a stupid idea, called "protecting informers." Those who expose real evil persons and deeds should of course be protected, but those who make false accusations must not be tolerated. Protecting them is to hurt the innocent. Is this not confusing the good with the bad and confound right and wrong?

False accusation is one of the customs left behind from the "cultural revolution." The idea that it is right to make a false accusation is actually a variety of the idea that "it is right to rebel against reactionaries." It is now time to heighten our vigilance against it and stop it through criticism and education or legal means.

12302

CSO: 4005/863

## LITIGATION MANIA PREVAILS IN GUIZHOU

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Lu Shizhong [4151 0099 1813]: "'To Rebel Is Justified' Versus 'Litigation Mania'"]

[Text] "Lodging complaints" in this article does not refer to normal lawsuits, appeals or reflection of situations (these "complaints" should of course be "lodged"). It refers to those activities resembling "rebellions" in the period of 10-year turmoil. "To rebel is justified" was a popular slogan then. Today, some people want to "lodge complaints" against everything, creating a fad that says "to lodge complaints is justified." We may consider them two things of one nature emerged under two different circumstances. Both are distortion of facts, irreverence of truth, and interference of normal political life. The only difference is in their scale and influence.

If we say "to rebel is justified" was prompted by a fanatic movement, we should say "to lodge complaints is justified" sprouted mainly from the soil of "putting individuals above everything else." The former along with the negated movement have been seen through and cast aside by the people. However, the latter seems to continue to exist in real political life under the garb that confuses and poisons the people's mind and often causes adverse effects that hinder reform and interfere in work.

Behind the phenomenon, "to lodge complaints is justified," whether the complaint is signed or anonymous, there often is only one motive--namely, all for the individual; there often is only one background for its appearance--namely, when personal interests cannot be satisfied or are restricted; and there is only one criterion for judging right and wrong--namely, to see if it benefits oneself. Except for these, they have no other "reasons" to lodge "complaints." They would never do so even if the sky caved in.

What do they "complain" about? Exposed in the newspaper and often heard about are mainly three kinds: 1) "Complaints" against reform. When a unit carries out reform and affects the interests of certain people, there must be "complaints." 2) "Complaints" against leaders. When personal opinions are violated in the arrangement of work by leadership, when someone is criticized, or when someone's wish cannot be satisfied, "complaints" will be lodged. 3) "Complaints" against the advanced. When a positive and enterprising person

becomes a model or advanced worker, or is admitted into the party, promoted, and rewarded, the phenomenon of "shooting birds that stand out" will appear and "complaints" will be lodged as the times require.

Such "complaints" aimed at attacking others, in order to get the attention of leading departments, often employ unscrupulous means to twist injustice into the so-called "justice." Some try to find fault; some confuse one thing with another; some make groundless accusations; some distort facts, some act on subjective assumption; some cook up stories; and some make false accusations. In sum, they have no intention to seek truth from facts but they know how to drum up a case. It is thus clear how today's phenomenon "to lodge complaints is justified" resembles the past phenomenon "to rebel is justified."

Of course, they are not exactly alike. "To rebel" was an overall mass movement and formed a trend whereas "to lodge" is only a rare or even isolated phenomenon. The former was carried out on a large scale whereas the latter is conducted through secretive methods. Regardless of their scale and form, they both can cause detrimental effects on the party and the people. Everybody knows the grave calamity the former brought to the country and nation whereas the harm the latter did has not been completely detected by the people because it is local and covert. As a matter of fact, since in the latter "all it takes is an 8-fen stamp to keep you busy investigating for 6 months," thus resulting in unnecessary waste, there have been cases in which cadres were wronged, talents were stifled, ideological "burdens" were imposed on cadres, confusion was created in work, and even unjustified verdicts, frame-ups, and false accusations were created. It is thus clear that if the former is considered as an open destruction, the latter should be considered as a source of political interference that sabotages from within and whose pernicious influence must not be ignored.

Due to a lack of understanding of the pernicious influence of the idea that "to lodge complaints is justified," some incomprehensible abnormal phenomena have appeared. For instance, all "complaints" are treated as the "reflection of the masses," even if it is the case that "the guilty party files the suit." Some charges are purely unwarranted. What is worse, some people repeatedly slandered others in the form of "lodging complaints" and leading departments clearly knew that "it was not true" but let them get away with it and let those who "lodged complaints" continue to repeat rumors. At most, they gave the "accused" a few words of comfort such as "ignore him." This seems to make the "complaints" "naturally justified" whereas cadres and model and advanced workers devoted to reforms and adhered to principles being attacked and slandered also become "justified" (for they should be able to withstand scolding.) This is a demonstration of unhealthy tendencies.

In China, the people enjoy extensive democracy. The masses of people can reflect their opinions and demands to the party and government, exercise supervision over state employees, and expose and inform against the phenomena of law and discipline violations and corruption. Every cadre and party member also has the right to report to higher authorities on situations and opinions, which is stipulated in the Constitution. Those who "lodged complaints" used the democratic right of the people to give vent to personal spite and seek revenge and used higher organizations to fix whom they have wanted to fix.

This tramples on the democratic right of the people, a kind of political disturbance, and a custom left behind by "to rebel is justified."

"To rebel is justified" has already been swept onto the rubbish heap of history. "To lodge complaints is justified" should also be removed. We should create a serious political environment and put up a forbidden sign saying "dead end" in front of those who believe in "lodging complaints is justified" to make it hard for them to "make any move." The key to this lies in leadership. With regard to "complaints," leading organs should conduct thorough investigation and study of not only the accuser and the masses but also the accused and local leaders to get to the bottom of the case. They should also dare to affirm and negate. They must never avoid the issue, "hang it up," and let the accused take the blame. At the same time, they should protect and support those reformers, model and advanced workers, and cadres who dare to adhere to the principle. They should not demand perfection or unscrupulously negate them just because some people have "lodged complaints" against them. In addition, those irresponsible "accusers" who distorted facts should be investigated, handled, and punished according to law. In this way, the face of injustice of those who "lodged complaints" will be revealed and facts will warn the people that lodging unwarranted "complaints" will be punished.

12302

CSO: 4005/861

## ROOTS OF PARTY'S UNHEALTHY WORKSTYLE DISCUSSED

Lhasa XIZANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 May 86 p 3

[Article by Gong Puguang [1362 5543 0342]: "Brief Discussion of the Roots of Unhealthy Workstyle of the Party"]

[Text] The issue of the party's workstyle is an important matter concerning the success and failure of the cause and the rise and decline of the organization of our party. To genuinely achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle and dig out the "dirt" that produced unhealthy workstyle in the party, we must have a relatively clear understanding of the various roots of the party's unhealthy workstyle in terms of ideological theory. In my humble opinion, the roots of the party's unhealthy workstyle in the Xizang Autonomous Region are mainly in the following four areas:

1. Ideological Roots

A. Incorrect ideological line. In the past, because our ideological line was seriously affected by the pernicious influence of "leftist ideas" and by the customs handed down from the "Great Cultural Revolution," we copied the model of inland China in economic work; went all out with "political factories" and "filling in gaps" in industry; practiced "taking grain as the key link" in agriculture and animal husbandry; practiced "taking class struggle as the key link" and artificially enlarged political distance between us and the personages of religious circle in national and religious affairs and united front work; and carried out "fake, exaggerated, and empty" propaganda. These practices which were seriously divorced from the reality of Xizang have caused grave losses to the cause of our party and fostered serious unhealthy political workstyle of our party.

B. Parochial individualism and the pursuit of personal fame and gain. Individualism and the pursuit of personal fame and gain run counter to the party's fundamental principle of wholeheartedly serving the people. However, this kind of thinking exists to a rather serious degree among some party members. They measure everything by personal gain. First they see if they can benefit politically. Then they see if they can gain some material interests. Although there are only a few of them, they have left a very bad influence on the masses and have seriously undermined the party's workstyle.

C. Weak concept of party spirit. Some party members consider joining the party as the ultimate point of their political life and rest content with the fact that they have joined the party organizationally. They do not pay attention to enhancing party spirit not to mention making strict demands on themselves according to the requirements of party members. They completely forgot that they are one of the vanguards of the Chinese working class and often confuse themselves with the rank and file. They say and do as they please. In disregard of party discipline and state law, they even do things violating law and discipline, causing serious damage to the party image among the masses.

D. Shaky foundation of theory. This problem is rather prominent among the party members of our region. Due to the insufficient study of Marxist theory, many party members are often at a loss amid political tides and ideological trends of society and lack their own views. In some erroneous political movements, they failed to uphold justice and foster healthy trends. For instance, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Some party members were the first to smash temples and destroy cultural relics, but when it came to the implementation of two agricultural and animal husbandry policies--"taking household management as the key" and "two long-term unchangables"--they became overcautious and were afraid to charge. All this has also caused some adverse effect among the masses and diminished the prestige of the party and its policies.

## 2. Roots of Organizational Building

This consists of mainly two aspects: One is the issue of developing party members. During a fairly long period of time in the past, due to the influence of "leftist" ideas, we overemphasized family background and personal class status on the issue of developing party members. But, in recent years, we have overemphasized specialization, intellectual work, and those people who dare to be the first in becoming wealthy and who dare to carry out reforms while giving insufficient consideration and observation to the political and ideological qualities of the objects of development. As a result, the contingent of party members has expanded rapidly, but the political quality of party members has failed to improve accordingly. Even those who meet none of the party members' requirements have made their way into the party, undermining the purity of party organizations and bringing about unhealthy workstyle in the party.

Another aspect is the lack of education in party spirit and party discipline. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, especially since the central government issued an important directive on Xizang's work in 1980, our party organizations at all levels have devoted great energies to economic work and, at the same time, relaxed or even let go of party members' ideological education and education in party spirit and discipline. Grassroots party organizations constantly skipping party activities is a very common phenomenon in agricultural and animal husbandry areas. Government offices and enterprises are better than agricultural and animal husbandry areas as far as organizational construction is concerned, but there is much to be desired in regard to party spirit and discipline education. This situation is bound to cause some party members to become indifferent about the sense of organization

and party spirit and fail to act in strict accordance with the demands of party constitution. This is also a root of unhealthy the party's workstyle.

### 3. Social Roots

The social roots of the party's unhealthy workstyle refers to the influence of the multifarious unhealthy workstyles of society on the party and the unhealthy workstyle in the party caused by various social factors. They mainly include the following aspects:

A. The influence of the unhealthy workstyle in society. With the rapid progress of reform, opening up, and economy in the past few years, the building of socialist ideological civilization failed to make simultaneous development, resulting in many unhealthy social practices and the influence of decadent western bourgeois ideas. All of this has been transferred to our region and formed great influence in the party. For instance, in regard to politics, there is laissez-faire; in regard to ideology, there is "liberalization;" in regard to economy, some people use power to seek personal gains, give or accept bribes, engage in theft and embezzlement, and violate law and disciplines; in regard to organization, people are appointed by favoritism and principles are discarded; in regard to work style, there are bureaucracy, deception, formality, and unorganized and undisciplined anarchism. Under the influence of these unhealthy workstyles in society, some comrades of our party whose determination to carry out revolution and whose sense of party spirit are weak often carry those ideas of the commodity economy into inner-party political life. Unable to resist the temptation of money and beauty, they become prisoners and add fuel to the flames in this unhealthy tendency, causing very bad consequences.

B. Weak political and ideological work. Political and ideological work is an important experience of our party in winning the victory of Chinese revolution. However, since the focus of the work of the party was shifted to economic construction and along with the development of situation, the original methods of political and ideological work have no longer been able to meet the demands of the new situation. They lack the attraction, persuasion, and authority they are supposed to have. Because of this, they cannot yield proper results. This has, on the one hand, caused political and ideological work to be ignored by society and, on the other hand, caused us to fail to give good guidance and introduce correct ideas to the ideological front. This social phenomenon has also been reflected to the party and caused some of our party members to lose their bold and assured resistance and their own "immunity" against unhealthy workstyle.

C. Propaganda mistakes. During the propaganda of reforms in agricultural and animal husbandry areas, we gave too much publicity to "10,000-yuan households" and to the fact that some people are allowed to get rich first while giving insufficient publicity to the idea of walking side by side on the road to prosperity and the need for those who are already rich to help those who have yet become rich. During the propaganda of enterprise reforms, we gave more publicity to the fact that reform has increased workers' income than to the experience of increasing enterprises' vitality and economic results. We also lacked painstaking investigation and research in propaganda, resulting in some

exaggerated and elevated propaganda. Propaganda mistakes have objectively guided the people to "look toward money." These consequences have also made direct influence on the party.

D. Insufficient popularity of legal system education. Over a long period of time, because we have not done enough work to popularize the common knowledge of the legal system, some party members, even some party leading cadres, are confused about such questions as "Which is higher? Law or the party?" and "Which is higher? Law or power?" They think they can "replace law with power" and "replace law with the party." Because they have no comprehension of the legal system whatsoever, they have gone so far as to violate law and directly contributed to unhealthy workstyle in the party.

4. Historical roots. Although Xizang has completed the transfer from a feudal serf system to socialist system, some remnants of the feudal serf system still exist in the people's ideology. These remnants of old ideology are also a factor contributing to the party's unhealthy workstyle. For instance, main expressions of unhealthy workstyle now existing in our party include using power to seek personal gains, appointing people by favoritism, bureaucracy, arbitrary work style, and giving and accepting bribes. All these can find their roots in the ideology of the age of feudal serf systems.

In addition, although the "Great Cultural Revolution" was over 10 years ago, the pernicious influence of its ultra-"leftist" ideas, unorganized, undisciplined anarchism, and sectarian practice still have some relatively deep influence on the thinking of some comrades. Correcting the party's workstyle is an arduous political task; therefore, relying only on those practices of general discussions and informal talks will get us nowhere. We must do some down-to-earth work in combining theory with practice. Only in this way can we make a fundamental change in our party's workstyle.

12302  
4005/862

ILLEGAL PROCUREMENT OF PUBLIC GASOLINE REPORTED IN JIAMUSI

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Liu Tingli [0491 1694 0500]: "Two Thousand Privately Owned Motorcycles Consume Public Gasoline in Jiamusi"]

[Text] There are more than 3,000 privately-owned motorcycles in Jiamusi, where it is unlawful to purchase of gasoline without a coupon. But less than 1,000 motorcycle owners have registered at the gasoline company for the coupon.

The average cyclist consumes one kg of gasoline per day. The 2,200+ motorcyclists in Jiamusi who have not registered for coupons thus use 2,200 kg daily, equalling 803 tons of gasoline per year. Where does it all come from? After conducting a thorough investigation, this writer has discovered their secret.

A motorcycle owner from Xiangyang District who travels long distances to sell fish says that he averages over 100 km per working day and that he receives most of his gasoline from a friend who works in a government motor unit.

For 3 years a certain household on Yongan Street in Qianjin District has owned two motorcycles but has never purchased any gasoline. It has obtained its supply from one government unit or another.

Certain private motorcycle owners obtain public gasoline fraudulently, while some government officials in charge of gasoline or some who drive government vehicles barter public gasoline for cigarettes, liquor or personal favors.

As a result, public gasoline is being steadily diverted to private users through various illegal channels. At the current rate of 790 yuan per ton of gasoline, the total leakage to private users in Jiamusi amounts to an alarming 634,300 yuan. How can we allow this to continue?

CSO:4005/10

## PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CONDUCTS LOCAL INSPECTIONS

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 86 p 1

[Article by Fan Qinye [5400 0530 2814]]

[Text] Deputies to the sixth provincial people's congress recently inspected various cities and counties. Performing their duties seriously, the deputies went to the grassroots level to listen to the masses' opinions and demands. They obtained information on the economic situation, science and technology, reform of the education system, implementation of the national economic plan and various laws and so forth in preparation for the forthcoming fourth session of the sixth provincial people's congress.

The deputies went on their inspection tours in groups or individually. Some groups were formed by deputies from the same electoral districts, some by members of the same profession or system, and still some by joining with NPC or city and county deputies. In addition to being briefed by local governments, courts and procuratorates, they also made their own investigations in light of their work and items on the agenda of the forthcoming provincial people's congress session. The scope of their inspections was very extensive, covering all sectors of the economy and the superstructure in both urban and rural areas. They visited advanced units as well as backward or weak units, well-to-do households as well as poor households. Deputies from Suihua Prefecture inspected 146 grassroots units, held 54 discussion meetings, called on 107 urban and rural households and had direct contacts with more than 5,000 voters, listening to a wide range of opinions from all quarters. On their inspection tours, the deputies looked into the people's production and living conditions, offered advice and suggested ways to solve some pressing problems, and exchanged information and opinions and discussed solutions and measures with local governments and departments concerned. Deputies Jing Bowen [7231 0130 2429] and Lu Zhong [7120 1813], who work in organizations directly under the provincial CPC committee, inspected education and public health in the electoral districts of Jiamusi, Huachuan, Yilan and other cities and counties. They found that schools and hospitals were faced with the problems of insufficient funds, housing shortages, poor equipment and an unstable work force, and suggested five solutions to the problems. They also solved four urgent problems for some middle and primary schools and hospitals. The governments and departments concerned at various levels paid serious attention to the deputies' opinions and suggestions and acted promptly when

possible. Jixi City alone acted on 29 suggestions during the deputies' inspection. In response to the 52 problems brought up by deputies and the masses, Mohe County Head Gao Baoxing [7559 0202 5281] brought leaders of the departments concerned together to the places in question, solved 36 of the problems on the spot and made arrangements for the solution of the remaining ones, making sure that every single problem was being taken care of.

During their inspections, the deputies put forth many suggestions, criticisms and opinions. They plan to take these suggestions and opinions to the forthcoming fourth session of the sixth provincial people's congress for further discussion.

12802/12947  
CSO: 4005/903

## MEETING TO RECTIFY WORK STYLE IN PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM HELD

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 May 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Li Liqian [2621 6849 9578]]

[Text] The unhealthy trends in the city's public health system have improved somewhat through the "three-prize, one-good" emulation campaign, but many problems remain. This is the basic appraisal made at the meeting on rectifying unhealthy trends in the public health profession convened today.

The experience-exchanging meeting, held jointly by the municipal CPC committee's culture and education office and the municipal public health bureau, used both positive and negative experiences to show the necessity to strengthen ideological and political work and rectify the unhealthy trends in the public health field. In planning on what to do next, the municipal public health bureau put the stress on the following: 1) It is necessary to make serious efforts to correct the unhealthy tendency to one-sidedly seek greater economic returns by charging more, often unnecessarily, and ordering more tests than needed. 2) It is necessary to correct the unhealthy tendency of a few persons who seek personal profit by setting up sickbeds at home, forming medical service associations and treating patients outside of hospital by a group of doctors. 3) It is necessary to correct the uncivilized behavior and work style of treating patients with indifference, making things difficult for them and even scolding them. 4) It is necessary to correct the evil practices of medical personnel and food and health management personnel who use their positions to give personal favors, handle private affairs, or hold things up as a means to seek personal gain.

Wang Rensheng [3769 0086 3932], deputy secretary of the municipal CPC committee, spoke at the meeting. He pointed out emphatically: The correction of unhealthy trends in trades and professions should be combined with the party rectification so that the public health workers' sense of party spirit, level of understanding and professional ethics can be improved through the rectification of party style. Leading comrades at all levels should take the lead by setting an example, combine the rectification of unhealthy trends with the reform of the public health system, solve practical problems and improve work efficiency and quality.

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CSO: 4005/903

## GANSU STRESSES HANDLING OF MAJOR CASES

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Reporter Zhang Guojie [1728 0948 2638]: "Overcome Various Obstructions and Step up the Investigation and Prosecution of Major and Serious Cases"]

[Text] At a recent meeting held by the Gansu Provincial CPC Committee to coordinate the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases with officials of departments concerned under the provincial disciplinary commission and political and judicial commission present, an official of the provincial CPC committee emphasized the need to strengthen the cooperation and coordination of all departments concerned, concentrate efforts to step up the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases, and speed up the handling of such cases.

During a briefing on Gansu's situation in the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases, an official of the provincial disciplinary commission said a large number of major and serious cases had been filed for investigation and prosecution and among them, 51.9 percent were economic cases. After over 5 months of work, 39.5 percent of cases were closed. At the same time, a group of new cases were discovered and prosecuted. The major existing problem is that the handling of cases is slow and inefficient and the coordination of all fields is insufficient.

After analyzing existing problems, the official of the provincial CPC committee emphatically pointed out that party organizations and departments concerned at all levels, especially leading comrades, should further study the policies and directives of the CPC Central Committee and the provincial CPC committee on dealing blows at economic crimes, better ideological understanding, and do a serious, good job in leading this struggle. They should uphold principles when they handle cases instead of turning major cases into minor cases and substituting discipline for law. They should boldly and assuredly overcome various kinds of resistance and obstruction and dare to confront and fight the network of personal connections and the practice of pleading for mercy. At present, they should concentrate energies on the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases concerning units at the provincial level, especially major and serious cases of economic crimes concerning cadres at and above county and department levels. As for other

criminal cases and cases of serious law and discipline violations, priority should also be given to those major and serious cases. Coordinated combined operation of all departments concerned in handling cases is an effective form of organization and an important means in handling major and serious cases, especially economic cases. All departments concerned should play their due part and coordinate with others in various links of the investigation and prosecution of cases in accordance with their scope of responsibility. Political and judicial departments should consider the investigation and prosecution of economic crimes as the main task at present, vigorously and voluntarily cooperate with discipline, industrial, commercial, and financial inspection departments in doing a good job, and, on the prerequisite of seeking truth from facts, speed up the investigation and handling of cases. Cases undergone thorough investigation should be handled promptly, not left hanging forever.

12302

CSO: 4005/862

## GANSU CONCLUDES RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION FORUM

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by reporter Zhang Shenggui [1728 3932 6311]: "Do a Good Job in Rural Party Rectification From Start to Finish"]

[Text] The Gansu Provincial Rural Party Rectification Forum which lasted for 5 days concluded on the afternoon of 23 June in Lanzhou.

This forum was held to implement the guidelines of the party rectification forum of secretaries of 11 provincial and municipal CPC committees in northern China, which was held in Zhengzhou by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, and the guidelines of the national party rectification forum of minority and remote border areas, which was held in Lanzhou. Deputy secretaries in charge of party rectification and directors of party rectification offices of Gansu's 14 prefectures, autonomous prefectures, and cities attended the forum. At the forum, leaders of various prefectures, autonomous prefectures, and cities reported situations and exchanged experiences of party rectification at the township level, studied and analyzed current problems in party rectification, discussed some policy issues concerning party rectification at the village level and ways to do a good job in party rectification at the township level from start to finish. The forum held that since the provincial rural party rectification forum was held in March 1986, all localities have further strengthened leadership over party rectification, clarified guiding ideology, solved problems in a down-to-earth manner, and achieved clear results of party rectification. As of today, 476 townships and towns, accounting for 30.9 percent of all townships and towns participating in this party rectification campaign, and 823 enterprises and establishments at and below the county level, accounting for 40 percent of all such units participating in this campaign, have completed party rectification.

Prior to the closing of the forum on the afternoon of 23 June, Hou Zongbin, [0186 1350 6333], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, and Wang Zhanchang [3769 0594 2490], secretary of the provincial discipline inspection commission and deputy head of the party rectification leading group of the provincial CPC committee, spoke one after another. In his speech, Hou Zongbin pointed out that it was necessary to implement the directive given by Comrade Hu Yaobang during his inspection of Gansu and that all party members participating in rural party rectification should, in accordance with Comrade

Hu Yaobang's demand, take the lead in eliminating the old idea of small-scale peasant economy, establishing the new concept of developing commodity production, enlarging sources of production and prosperity, abiding by law and disciplines, doing a good job in the building of ideological civilization, carrying out reforms, and supporting competent people in rural economic reform.

Comrade Wang Zhanchang addressed the issue of how to do a good job in rural party rectification from start to finish. He said we should conscientiously solve problems concerning party members and cadres of districts, townships, and villages involved in the serious abuse of power to seek personal interests and in the serious violations of law and discipline and make a success of the building of leading bodies at township and town levels. Through party rectification, we should bring about a distinct change in the ideological workstyle and disciplinary situation of township and town leading bodies. We should uphold the principle of imposing strict demands on party administration, do a good job in organizational work and party membership registration, carefully avoid the tendency of being too loose. We should ensure that party rectification gives an impetus to the economy and that economic work is used to measure the results of party rectification. At the same time, we should also make preparations as soon as possible for party rectification at the village level.

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CSO: 4005/861

## SHAANXI URGES BETTER JOB OF RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Zheng Gang [6774 6921]: "Focus on Priorities and Make a Success of Rural Party Rectification"]

[Text] On the morning of 18 June, during a discussion of provincial party rectification, the Standing Committee of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee emphatically pointed out: Party rectification has now entered a new important period. Party committees at all levels, especially the county level, must continue to deepen understanding, conscientiously enhance leadership, and do a better job in rural party rectification and in consolidating and developing the achievements of party rectification.

After hearing work reports delivered by Li Xipu [2621 3305 3302], head of the leading group for the party rectification of the provincial CPC committee, and other comrades, the standing committee carried out conscientious discussion focusing on the current rural party rectification of Gansu province and made guidance-style arrangements.

During the discussion, members of the standing committee held that rural party rectification should focus on solving the problem concerning leading party members at district, township and village levels using power to seek personal gains and committing serious violations of law and disciplines. This is an issue of utmost concern to the masses inside and outside the party. If it is not solved properly, it will continue to damage the relations between the party and the masses and between the cadres and the masses and dampen the masses' enthusiasm for socialist construction. Through party rectification, those competent, young, and educated party members who have a strong party spirit should be promoted to the leading bodies of districts, townships, and villages so as to genuinely enhance the combat effectiveness of grassroots party organizations.

The standing committee pointed out that attention should be paid to the ideological and political education of party members throughout the whole process of rural party rectification. Emphasis should be put on the following three points: 1) Do a good job in party spirit education focusing on the principle of wholeheartedly serving the people, deepen affections for the masses of people, and enhance the sense of responsibility; 2) do a good job in

current situation and policy education focusing on the development of a commodity economy, deepen people's understanding of current reform and economic situation, increase the awareness of commodities, overcome the ideas of small-scale peasant-economy and feudal patriarchal concepts, and overcome the problem of being afraid or not knowing how to get rich; 3) do a good job in party style and discipline education focusing on improving party's political life and enhance the importance of organization and discipline. Financial confusion is a prominent problem in Shaanxi's rural areas. The masses are most concerned and sensitive about this issue. It is imperative that financial confusion be cleared up during party rectification.

Responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee emphasized that the key to doing a good job in rural party rectification is to strengthen leadership, especially the leadership of county CPC committees. The leading members of county and district CPC committees should be personally involved in party rectification. This is required by party rectification as well as the work of the party as a whole. It will help make a success of party rectification and accelerate the development of reform and economic construction. At present, rural party rectification should be focused on completing the work of party rectification in townships and towns. At the same time, vigorous and conscientious efforts should be made to carry out preparations for party rectification at the village level. All prefectural, city, and county CPC committees should carry out a general inspection and analysis of party rectification in townships and towns. They should have a clear idea of what has been done well and what has not and provide solutions, specific guidance, and concrete help in accordance with existing problems. Party rectification cannot be concluded unless prominent issues are resolved. Issues brought up during party rectification should be examined in accordance with the guidelines of the Zhengzhou Forum to see if those issues which should be resolved and handled are resolved and handled. Efforts should be stepped up to solve those issues which have not yet been resolved.

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CSO: 4005/862

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

LI XIANNIAN MOURNS DEATH OF NANJING PLA LEADER

OW160631 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Excerpts] With profound grief, some 500 people, including leaders of the Nanjing Military Region and Shanghai Municipality and celebrities from various circles, on 12 September paid their last respects to the remains of Comrade Zhou Chunlin, a loyal communist fighter of our party, outstanding communist, brilliant PLA commander, member of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, and former deputy commander of the Nanjing Military Region. Comrade Zhou Chunlin died of illness in Shanghai on 2 September 1986 at the age of 74.

Wreaths were sent from party and government leaders, including Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian, Yang Shangkun, Yang Dezhi, Yu Qiuli, Ni Zhifu, Qin Jiwei, Chen Pixian, Wang Zhen, Wang Ping, Li Desheng, Chen Xilian, Huang Huoqing, Wei Guoqing, Peng Chong, Ye Fei, Liao Hansheng, Han Xianchu, Zhang Jingfu, Zhang Aiping, Hong Xuezhi, Yang Chengwu, Chen Zaidao, and Liu Jingji, as well as from Comrades Liu Bocheng, Huang Kecheng, and He Changgong. Wreaths were also sent from the Central Military Commission, the CPPCC National Committee, the CPC Central Committee's Organization Department, the PLA General Staff, Political, and Logistics Departments, the Nanjing Military Region, the Office of the Central Military Commission, and Shanghai Municipality and Jiangsu Province.

Amidst mourning music, leading comrades of the Nanjing Military Region and Shanghai Municipality Xiang Shouzhi, Fu Kuiqing, Shi Yuxiao, Jiang Zemin, Wu Bangguo, and Wang Daohan, as well as Comrade Zhou Chunlin's friends, paid their last respects to his remains and expressed sympathy to his widow (Deng Wenxiu) and children.

When Comrade Zhou Chunlin was gravely ill, President Li Xiannian sent people to visit him at the hospital. Party and government leaders Qin Jiwei, Wang Ping, Peng Chong, Liao Hansheng, Zhang Aiping, and Yang Chengwu, as well as officials from relevant departments, also visited him at the hospital.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

SHAANXI RADIO REPORTS ON LAOSHAN FRONTLINE

HK110255 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 10 Sep 86

[Feature by station reporter (Fan Mingsheng): "Justice Is on Our Side"]

[Excerpts] Laoshan, an ordinary mountain on China's southwest border, has been on the minds of millions of the motherland's people in recent years.

On 9 August, this reporter accompanied the comrades of the Shaanxi comfort group in climbing the 1,442.22 meter high main peak of Laoshan. The frontline commander told us that the Vietnamese aggressors have not given up their ambitions since they were chased out of the Laoshan area. They are still firing on China's territory every day. For instance, in the past four months, they have fired over 80,000 shells at us, blocking our roads and destroying vehicles and personnel. They also frequently dispatch units to harass and launch sneak attacks in the border areas; they plant mines and engaged in camouflaged reconnaissance. They really stop at no evil.

(Yang Xinyao), governor of Malipo County, where Loashan is situated, angrily told us that Vietnamese bullets and shells have killed or injured over 300 people of various nationalities in the county since 1979. They have also burned 10 villages with incendiary bombs. Some 13,000 mu of farmland along the border cannot be farmed due to the enemy artillery menace.

On 9 August, this reporter accompanied the comfort group in visiting the martyrs' mausoleum in Malipo County. It commemorates as many as 1,000 martyrs who sacrificed their lives in recovering Laoshan from the enemy. Twenty of them came from Shaanxi.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### SHANDONG GOVERNMENT HOLDS CONSCRIPTION WORK MEETING

SK040410 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 3 Sep 86

[Text] From 1 to 3 September, the provincial government and the provincial Military District jointly held a meeting to plan conscription work for this year. Attending and addressing the meeting were Cao Wansheng, Standing Committee member of the Provincial Party Committee and political commissar of the provincial Military District; Ma Lianli, provincial vice governor; and Liu Yude, commander of the provincial Military District.

The meeting pointed out: After carrying out structural reform, administrative streamlining, and reorganization, the army has set still higher demands on soldiers in terms of quality. Party committees, governments, and military service leading organs at all levels should strive to provide high-quality soldiers for the troops with the spirit of assuming responsibility for the national defense modernization drive.

In his speech, Vice Governor Ma Lianli fully affirmed the achievements scored by the province last year, and set some specific demands for achieving success in the conscription work of this year. First, we should regard the propagation and education on enlistment as an important item of building spiritual civilization, incorporate it into our overall plans, and conscientiously attend to this work. We should combine propagation and education on enlistment with education on popularizing legal knowledge in order to enhance all citizens' concepts of performing military service according to the law. We should also combine propagation and education on enlistment with the activity of vying with one another in creating civilized units in order to promote the fulfillment of the conscription task.

Second, we should regard the work of giving special care to disabled servicemen and family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen as an effective measure for achieving success in conscription work so that we can use policies to motivate youths of conscription age in signing up for military. All localities should conduct a conscientious inspection of the work of giving special care to disabled servicemen and family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen, and should discover and solve problems in a timely manner. In the course of doing this work, we should do penetrating and painstaking ideological and political work in order to form an

atmosphere in which one's serving in the army can be an honor for all of his family members.

Third, we should actually strengthen the leadership over conscription work and give full play to the function and role of various departments concerned in order to fulfill the conscription task with high standards and high quality.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

ZHEJIANG ENDS MEETING ON SETTLING PLA CADRES

OW030925 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 28 Aug 86

[Text] The provincial conference of representatives of advanced units and individuals in placing demobilized army cadres concluded today. Chen Fawen, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and head of the group for placing demobilized army cadres in the province, made a speech at the conference. He pointed out: Placing demobilized army cadres is a political task of great significance. Under the leadership of the Provincial Party Committee and the provincial government and with the vigorous support of PLA units and the relevant departments, the propaganda departments at all levels throughout the province have done a great deal of hard work and scored outstanding achievements in this connection. Over 55,000 demobilized army cadres have been transferred from other localities to work in various departments in the province since 1975 and made contributions to developing socialist modernization in Zhejiang and scoring new achievements for the people.

Chen Fawen pointed out: One of the important links in supporting army reform and army building is helping demobilized army cadres find civilian jobs. More than 6,200 demobilized army cadres will be transferred to work in Zhejiang this year. We must do a good job in helping them find civilian jobs.

The conference commended over 200 advanced units and individuals.

Attending the conference were Shen Zulun, vice governor and Standing Committee member of the Provincial Party Committee; Shen Guifang, Standing Committee member and head of the propaganda department of the Provincial Party Committee; and leading comrades of various PLA units.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

ARMY CONSCRIPTION WORK MEETING CONCLUDED--A provincial armed forces conscription work conference concluded on 10 September. The meeting exchanged experiences in this work, discussed specific issues in making a success of the work this year, and presented commendation certificates to advanced units in last year's conscription work. Kong Zhaowen, member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee and political commissar of Shaanxi Military District, attended the meeting on 10 September. Wang Xibin, commander of the Military District, delivered a summation. Vice Governor Zhang Bin also spoke. He said: This year's conscription work is about to start. The government at all levels must put this work on their agenda, seriously study it, and make all-round arrangements. In conjunction with popularizing knowledge of the law, the government at all levels and the military service organs must vigorously publicize the military service law. It is also necessary to do a good job of providing preferential treatment for the dependents of conscripts in order to ease their worries. He expressed the hope that young people of the right age would actively register their names for joining the armed forces to defend the motherland. In conclusion he demanded that the government at all levels and the military service organs seriously implement the conscription policies and ensure the quality of the work. [Text] [Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 10 Sep 86 HK] /12913

GUANGDONG CONFERENCE ON MILITIA WORK--From 29 August to 2 September, the provincial government and Guangdong Military District jointly held a provincial conference on militia work to discuss and look into the new situation and new problems since the people's armed forces departments were put under the control of localities. Attending the conference were Guo Rongchang, deputy secretary of the Provincial Party Committee; Vice Governor Yang Li; Zhang Juhui, commander of the Guangdong Military District; and Political Commissar Xiu Xianghui. In his speech, Guo Rongchang pointed out: The militia system is a traditional military system of our country. Militia building is an important aspect of building national defense. In particular, as our country is now concentrating its forces on carrying out socialist economic construction and as a large number of PLA units on active duty have been reduced, we must attach more importance to the building of national defense reserve forces. CPC committees and governments at all levels in the localities must firmly grasp militia reserve service work. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 2 Sep 86 HK] /12913

HARBIN CONSCRIPTION WORK CONFERENCE--The Heilongjiang provincial conscription work conference opened in Harbin City on 13 September. The conference will discuss the issue of how to improve the quality of enlisted army men under circumstances in which reforms in economic systems have been carried out and the PLA units have been streamlined or reorganized, and will make arrangements for the conscription work this year. The conference was presided over by Shao Zhao, commander of the provincial Military District. He Shoulun, vice governor of the provincial People's Government, was in attendance. [Text] Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 13 Sep 86 SK] /12913

CSO: 4005/008

MAO ZEDONG'S MERITS, FAULTS ASSESSED

OW120841 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 8 Sep 86

[Excerpts] It has been 10 years since Comrade Mao Zedong's death. During this time, some historical issues have been clarified in the wake of bringing order out of chaos and correctly reassessing some historical issues and personages of the party, because some veteran comrades of our party and army have the courage to write about the truth of certain historical events. It is also under these circumstances that Mao Zedong's merits and errors have become more obvious.

Currently, propaganda departments of all units throughout the country are organizing a study of the new two volume edition of the selected works of Mao Zedong. From Comrade Mao Zedong's articles that are included in the new selected works, one can see that as long as the works are in line with Marxism-Leninism, they have played an active role in the cause of the Chinese revolution. However, those works that violate Marxism-Leninism have inflicted great damage on the party and the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong's early merits lay in his ability to employ well the collective wisdom of all the CPC members and to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the actual situation of the Chinese revolution and in the fact that he, together with other veteran revolutionaries of our party, employed the Chinese people's experiences gained in long years of struggle. During the course of administering the country, Mao Zedong violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism and did things completely according to his own subjected will, thus making grave mistakes affecting the interests of the whole people and causing great misery for both the country and the people. In his later years, Mao Zedong vigorously promoted the disgusting personal cult of himself; more than 100 million people had been suppressed and persecuted since he started the autocratic rule.

If we want to build a China of tomorrow, we have to study the past and present of our party and country. In other words, we should not only borrow successful experiences from the past, but also learn from lessons of past

failures so that we will not make the same mistakes again. For this purpose, we must correctly recognize the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and maintain a clear-cut stand on major historical issues of our party and army. We should make clear what we support and what we oppose, thus illustrating our correct Marxist attitude toward historical events and personages.

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CSO: 4005/004

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON LIN BIAO INCIDENT

OW161436 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Text] It has been 15 years since the world-shocking Lin Biao incident. The story of the incident, which was concocted by the gang of four, has been revised and supplemented throughout the years and has turned into a 100,000-odd character, thrilling detective novel. On the surface, this detective novel like the Lin Biao incident was just a personal tragedy of Lin Biao.

However, it actually involved the fate of tens of thousands of veteran cadres of our party and army which included six members of the Political Bureau; the chief of the General Staff; eight secretaries and deputy secretaries of provincial party committees; four deputy chiefs of the General Staff; the director of the General Logistics Department; the Air Force commander; the first political commissar of the PLA Navy; two deputy directors of the General Political Department; 11 commanders, deputy commanders, and political commissars from different services; 14 leaders of various military regions, and an uncertain number of military cadres in general.

Public opinions were often formed, based upon the occurrence of some historical events, by people blindly following each other's viewpoints without analyzing and taking into account the facts of those events. The Lin Biao incident that occurred on 13 September 1971 is an obvious example of such cases.

According to many comrades who have written memoirs on the revolution, the exploits of Lin Biao and others are always involved when the history of our army is documented or some famous battles are recounted. Since they cannot be mentioned in the writings, something is missing when those memoirs are read. In addition, when writing memoirs, the authors have always felt that the charges against Lin Biao did not fit in with his life story.

Dedicating himself to the revolution when he was young, Lin Biao joined the party in 1926 and took part in the 1 August Nanchang uprising in 1927. He was appointed regimental commander in the Red Army at the age of 21 and army commander at the age of 24. At the age of 29, he was appointed commandant of the Red Army University. He became commander of the Northeastern Field Army in 1948, commander of the Fourth Field Army in 1949, member of the Political Bureau and vice chairman of the Military Commission in 1959, vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee in 1958, and minister of defense in 1959. Lin Biao

was chosen as the sole vice chairman and successor by the Ninth CPC Congress. Such founding members of our party and army as Lin Biao and other important military leaders at the time were suddenly turned into antiparty and antisocialist counterrevolutionaries and into careerists and conspirators, while the gang of four became proletarian revolutionaries who were loyal to the party and Chairman Mao. The gang of four seemed to be well prepared. As soon as the 1 September incident occurred, they pulled out the so-called 10 crimes of Lin Biao and 12 political charges against him. The most ridiculous thing was that at first, the gang of four accused Lin Biao of being an extreme leftist. Later, they accused Lin Biao of being an extreme rightist, for fear that "left" might allude to themselves.

After the downfall of the gang of four, Lin Biao was again accused of being an extreme leftist, and his name and those of other implicated military leaders were intentionally juxtaposed with the gang of four. We have said over and over again that the Lin Biao incident is the largest frame-up case in history. After murdering the family of Lin Biao, the gang of four staged the farce of killing Lin Biao through a plane crash in Undur Khan in Mongolia. And it is not at all strange that the gang of four should fabricate all kinds of charges against Lin Biao, for they wanted to get rid of the leader of our army so that they could take over power. What is strange is that after the downfall of the gang of four, some people still believe the lie they were told was the truth. This runs counter to the principle of seeking truth from facts. For the interests of our party and army, we should solve the historical issue of the Lin Biao incident as soon as possible.

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CSO: 4005/009

IRREGULARITIES IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

OW040950 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] In the course of the ongoing party rectification, some excesses have been reported in many departments. Unhealthy practices have not been thoroughly eliminated, and some of them have actually become more rampant. What is the reason behind this?

The reason is that new restrictions have been imposed on party rectification, which actually provide shields for unhealthy practices. The higher-ups require that party rectification be integrated with reform. However, in the course of party rectification, with many party members and cadres found to have taken advantage of reform to seek private gains, the higher-ups hurriedly remind party rectification groups that only very few people criticize or violate existing policies, practice embezzlement, or give or accept bribes, claiming that these phenomena are side paths on the road of advance or nothing but tiny dust on a piece of jade.

In the course of party rectification, people have come to realize that some leaders, out of their intention to achieve fame and success and to please the higher-ups, have been deceived while cooperating with foreign firms in running enterprises, resulting in the failure of these enterprises. The people criticize them for squandering funds resulting in waste. But the higher-ups term this a fault in reform that should not be criticized.

At party rectification meetings, when people expose some leaders who, under the pretext of reform, use public funds to buy large amounts of luxury goods and distribute them among a handful of people, saying this is an embezzlement of public funds, the higher-ups argue that these are minor faults in reform which should not be quibbled about in the course of party rectification.

In this connection, the party paper has published a controversial article entitled: Party Rectification Should Not Be Quibbling About Faults in Reform. Thus, the unhealthy practices, which are the outgrowths of reform, remain unrectified.

The borers inside the party and the social pests keep this tendency in mind, and everywhere they go they do things prohibited by party discipline and state law under the pretext of making reform. When their misdeeds are exposed and become the target of criticism in the course of party rectification, they put

on a sad look and file a petition with the higher-ups, contending that they are the victims of retaliation because they dare to make reform. They are immediately redressed.

A case in point is that of the plant director of Jiangsu's (Yanghe) clique. In the course of party rectification, he was found to have embezzled funds, accepted bribes, engaged in wastefulness and extravagance, and suppressed workers. Later the higher-ups said that he dared to make reform and gave him only a slight reprimand. No wonder the masses and workers of government offices and mining and industrial enterprises say: With so many restrictions and prohibitions in party rectification, how can party rectification possibly go on?

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